00035046

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016

The only authorized Edition.

HISTORY

OF THE

CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

OF

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON.

FORMING A SEQUEL TO

"THE HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION."

BY

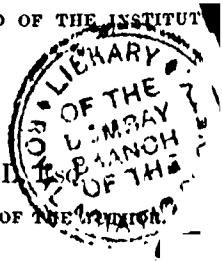
M. A. THIERS,

LATE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE,

MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY, AND OF THE INSTITUTE

&c. &c. &c.

35046 ac



TRANSLATED BY

D. FORBES CAMPBELL, Esq.

WITH THE SANCTION AND APPROVAL OF THE AUTHOR.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, GREAT MARLBOROUGH-S

SOLD ALSO BY

CHAPMAN AND HALL, STRAND.

1845.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

BOOK X.

EVACUATION OF EGYPT.

The Attention of Europe fixed upon the Negotiation opened at London—Speculations on the probable Influence of the death of Paul I. on this Negotiation—State of the Russian Court—Character of Alexander—His young Friends form a Secret Government with him, which directs all the Affairs of the Empire—Alexander consents to lower considerably the Pretensions set up by M. de Kalitscheff at Paris, in the name of Paul I.—He gives Duroc a gracious Reception—Reiterated Protestations of his Wishes to remain on good Terms with France—Commencement of the Negotiation set on foot at London—Preliminary Conditions proposed on both Sides—Acquisitions of the Two Countries by Sea and Land—England consents to the Restitution of a Part of her Maritime Conquests, but makes the Question of the Evacuation of Egypt, a *sine quâ non*—The two Governments tacitly agree to temporise, in order to watch the Issue of the Military Operations going on—The First Consul being apprised that the Negotiation depends upon these Events, urges Spain to march against Portugal, and makes renewed Efforts to succour Egypt—Operations of the Naval Forces—Divers Expeditions projected—Voyage of Gantheaume after leaving Brest—This Admiral succeeds in passing the Straits of Gibraltar—Being on the Point of proceeding onwards to Alexandria, he takes alarm at imaginary Dangers, and puts back into Toulon—State of Egypt subsequently to the Death of Kléber—Submission of the Country, and prosperous Condition of the Colony with respect to its Resources—Incapacity and Insubordination among the Officers in command—Deplorable Differences amongst the Generals—Ill-judged Measures of Menou, who wishes to do every thing at once.—Notwithstanding the repeated Warnings he receives of the Approach of an English Expedition, he takes no Precautions—Landing of the English in the Roads of Aboukir, on the 8th of March—General Friant, whose Forces are reduced to 1500 men, makes unavailing Attempts to repel them—A Reinforcement of Two Battalions to the Division at Alexandria would have saved Egypt—Tardy Concentration of the Forces ordered by Menou—Arrival of Lanusse's Division, and second Battle fought with an insufficient number of Troops on the 13th of March—Menou at length arrives with the Main Body of the Army—Sad Consequences of the Dissensions amongst the Generals—Plan of a decisive Battle—Battle of Canopus, fought on the 21st of March, and remains undecided—The English are left Masters of the Plain of Alexandria—Long Procrastination, during which Menou might have retrieved the fortunes of the French, by manœuvring against the Bodies detached from the Enemy—He does nothing—The English make an Attempt against Rosetta, and succeed in taking possession of one Mouth of the Nile—They advance into the Interior—The last Opportunity for saving Egypt at Ramanieh, lost by the Incapacity of General Menou—The English seize upon Ramanieh, and cut off the Division of Cairo, from that of Alexandria—The French Army thus divided, has no other Alternative but to capitulate—Surrender of Cairo by General Belliard—Menou shut up in Alexandria, dreams of the Glory of a Defence similar to that of Genoa—Egypt finally lost to France.

CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

BOOK X.

EVACUATION OF EGYPT.

PAGE.

The Attention of Europe fixed upon the Negotiation opened at London—Speculations on the probable Influence of the Death of Paul I. on this Negotiation—State of the Russian Court—Character of Alexander—His young Friends form a Secret Government with him, which directs all the Affairs of the Empire—Alexander consents to lower considerably the Pretensions set up by M. de Kalitscheff at Paris, in the name of Paul I.—He gives Duroc a gracious Reception—Reiterated Protestations of his Wishes to remain on good Terms with France—Commencement of the Negotiation set on foot at London—Preliminary Conditions proposed on both Sides—Acquisitions of the two Countries by Sea and Land—England consents to the Restitution of a part of her Maritime Conquests, but makes the Question of the Evacuation of Egypt a *sine quâ non*—The two Governments tacitly agree to temporise, in order to watch the Issue of the Military Operations going on—The First Consul being apprised that the Negotiation depends upon these Events, urges Spain to march against Portugal, and makes renewed Efforts to succour Egypt—Operations of the Naval Forces—Divers Expeditions projected—Voyage of Ganteaume after leaving Brest—This Admiral succeeds in passing the Straits of Gibraltar—Being [illegible] the Point of proceeding onwards to Alexandria, he takes alarm at [illegible]inary Dangers, and puts back into Toulon—State of Egypt subse[illegible]ntly to the Death of Kléber—Submission of the Country, and pros[illegible]ous Condition of the Colony with respect to its Resources—Inca[illegible]city and Insubordination amongst the Officers in Command—Deplorable [illegible]ferences amongst the Generals—Ill-judged Measures of Menou, who [illegible]hes to do every thing at once—Notwithstanding the repeated Warnings he [illegible]ceives of the Approach of an English Expedition, he takes no Precautions [illegible]Landing of the English in the Roads of Aboukir, on the 8th of March—[illegible]eneral Friant, whose Forces are reduced to 1500 men, makes unavailing [illegible]ttempts to repel them—A Reinforcement of two Battalions to the Di[illegible]sion at Alexandria would have saved Egypt—Tardy Concentration of the [illegible]rces ordered by Menou—Arrival of Lanusse's Division, and second [illegible]ttle fought with an insufficient number of Troops on the 13th of March

PAGE.

—Menou at length arrives with the Main Body of the Army—Sad Consequences of the Dissensions amongst the Generals—Plan of a decisive Battle —Battle of Canopus, fought on the 21st of March, and remains undecided— The English are left Masters of the Plain of Alexandria—Long Procrastination, during which Menou might have retrieved the Fortunes of the French, by manœuvring against the Bodies detached from the Enemy—He does nothing—The English make an Attempt against Rosetta, and succeed in taking possession of one Mouth of the Nile—They advance into the Interior—The last Opportunity for saving Egypt at Ramanieh, lost by the Incapacity of General Menou—The English seize upon Ramanieh, and cut off the Division of Cairo, from that of Alexandria—The French Army thus divided, has no other Alternative but to capitulate—Surrender of Cairo by General Belliard—Menou shut up in Alexandria, dreams of the Glory of a Defence similar to that of Genoa—Egypt finally lost to France... 3

BOOK XI.

GENERAL PEACE.

Last unsuccessful Attempt of Ganteaume to put to Sea—He touches at Derne, but dares not land 2000 Men whom he had on board, and puts back to Toulon—Capture of the Swiftsure on the Passage—Admiral Linois, sent from Toulon to Cadiz, is obliged to cast anchor in the Bay of Algéziras— Brilliant Engagement off Algéziras—A combined French and Spanish Squadron sails from Cadiz to assist Linois' Division—Return of the combined Fleet to Cadiz—Action between the Rear-Division and Admiral Saumarez—Dreadful Mistake of two Spanish Ships, which, in the Night, taking each other for Enemies, fight with Desperation, and are both blown up—Exploit of Captain Troude—Short Campaign of the Prince of the Peace against Portugal—The Court of Lisbon hastens to send a Negotiator to Badajoz, and to submit to the joint Requisitions of France and Spain— Course of European Affairs since the Treaty of Lunéville—Increasing Influence of France—Visit to Paris of the Infants of Spain, destined for the Throne of Etruria—Renewal of the Negotiation in London, between M. Otto and Lord Hawkesbury—The English present the Question in a new Shape—They demand Ceylon in the East Indies, Martinique or Trinidad in the West Indies, Malta in the Mediterranean—The First Consul answers these Pretensions by threatening to seize upon Portugal, and, in case of need, to invade England—Warm Altercation between the *Moniteur* and the English Newspapers—The British Cabinet gives up Malta—Renews all its Pretensions, and demands the Spanish Island of Trinidad—The First Consul to save the Possessions of an allied Court, offers the French Island of Tobago —It is rejected by the British Cabinet—Silly Conduct of the Prince of the Peace, which furnishes an unexpected Solution of the Difficulty. The Prince treats with the Court of Lisbon, without concerting with France, and thus deprives the French Legation of the Argument drawn from the Dangers of Portugal—Irritation of the First Consul, and Threats of War against Spain—M. de Talleyrand proposes to the First Consul to finish the Negotiation at the Expense of the Spaniards, by giving up the Island of Trinidad to the English—M. Otto is authorised to make this Concession, but only in the last Extremity—During the Negotiation, Nelson makes the

PAGE.

greatest Efforts to destroy our Flotilla at Boulogne—Splendid Actions off Boulogne, fought by Admiral Latouche-Treville with Nelson—Defeat of the English—Joy in France, Alarm in England, in consequence of these two Engagements—Reciprocal Tendency to a Reconciliation—The last Difficulties are overcome, and Peace is concluded, in the Form of Preliminaries by the Sacrifice of the Island of Trinidad—Unbounded Joy in England and France—Colonel Lauriston, sent to London with the Ratification of the First Consul, is drawn about in Triumph for several Hours—Meeting of a Congress in the City of Amiens to conclude a definitive Peace—Series of Treaties successively signed—Peace with Portugal, the Ottoman Porte, Bavaria, Russia, &c.—Fête in Celebration of the Peace fixed for 18th Brumaire—Lord Cornwallis, Plenipotentiary to the Congress of Amiens, is present at that Fête—His Reception by the People of Paris—Banquet in the City of London—Extraordinary Demonstrations of Sympathy reciprocated at this Moment by the two Nations 69

BOOK XII.

THE CONCORDAT.

The Catholic Church during the French Revolution—Civil Constitution of the Clergy decreed by the Constituent Assembly—Assimilation of the Administration of Religion to that of the Realm—One Diocese established for each Department—Election of Bishops by their Flocks, and dispensing with the Canonical Law—An Oath of Fidelity to this Constitution required from the Clergy—Refusal of the Oath, and Schism—Different Classes of Priests, their Character and Influence—Inconvenience of this State of Things—The Means which it furnished to the Enemies of the Revolution to trouble the Repose of Families—Different Systems proposed to remedy the Evil System of Inaction—System of a French Church of which the First Consul was to be the Head—System of strong Encouragement to Protestantism—Opinions of the First Consul on the various Systems proposed—He forms the Plan of re-establishing the Catholic Religion, rendering its Discipline in Harmony with the new Institutions of France. He wishes for the Deposition of the ancient titular Bishops, a Limitation comprising sixty Sees in place of 158, the Founding a new Clergy composed of respectable Priests of all classes, the State to have the Management of the Forms of Worship, salaries for the Priests in lieu of Endowments in Lands, and for the Sanction by the Church of the Sale of National Property—Friendly Relations between Pope Pius VII. and the First Consul—Monsignor Spina charged with the Negotiations at Paris, retards the Negotiation for the temporal Interest of the Holy See—Secret Desire to have the Legations back—Monsignor Spina feels the Necessity of Despatch—He confers with Abbé Bernier, charged to treat on the part of France—Difficulties of the Plan proposed to the Court of Rome—The First Consul sends his Project to Rome, and demands an Explanation from the Pope—Three Cardinals consulted—The Pope, after this Consultation, wishes the Catholic Religion to be declared the Religion of the State, that he should not be required to depose the ancient titular Bishops, nor sanction, otherwise than by his Silence, the Sale of the Property of the Church, &c.—Debates with M. de Cacault, Minister from France to Rome—The First Consul, fatigued by

PAGE.

these Delays, commands M. de Cacault to quit Rome in Five Days, unless the Concordat be adopted within that Time—Terrors of the Pope and Cardinal Gonsalvi—M. de Cacault suggests to the Pontifical Cabinet the Idea of sending Cardinal Gonsalvi to Paris—His Departure for France, and his Fears—His Arrival at Paris—His gracious Reception by the First Consul—Conferences with Abbé Bernier—Understanding on the Principle of a State Religion—The Catholic Religion declared to be the Religion of the Majority of Frenchmen—All the other Conditions of the First Consul relative to the Deposition of the ancient Titulars, the new Circumscriptions of the Sees, the Sale of the Property of the Church, are accepted, saving some Change of Terms in the Compilation—Definitive Agreement on all Points—Efforts made at the last Moment by the Adversaries of the Re-establishment of Worship to hinder the First Consul from signing the Concordat—He persists—Signature given July 15, 1801—Return of Cardinal Gonsalvi to Rome—Satisfaction of the Pope—Solemnity of the Ratifications—Choice of Cardinal Caprara as Legate *à latere*—The First Consul would have wished to celebrate on the 18th Brumaire Peace with the Church, at the same Time as Peace with all the European Powers—Necessity of applying to the ancient Titulars, to obtain their Resignations, causes Delay—A Demand for their Resignation addressed by the Pope to all the old Bishops, constitutional or not—Wise Submission of the constitutional Bishops—Noble Resignation of the Members of the old Clergy—Admirable Replies—The only Resistance is from the emigrant Bishops in London—Every thing is ready for the Re-establishment of Religion in France, but a sharp Opposition in the Tribunate causes new Delay—Necessity of overcoming this Opposition before going further 117

BOOK XIII.

THE TRIBUNATE.

Internal Administration—Suppression of Highway Robbery and Repair of the Roads—Revival of Commerce—Exports and Imports of the Year 1801—Material Results of the French Revolution, in Respect to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Population—Influence of the Prefects and Sub-prefects on the Administration—Order and Celerity in the Despatch of Business—Councillors of State on Circuit—Discussion of the Civil Code in the Council of State—Brilliant Winter of 1801-1802—Extraordinary Resort of Foreigners to Paris—Court of the First Consul—Organisation of his Civil and Military Establishment—The Consular Guard—Prefects of the Palace and Ladies of Honour—Sisters of the First Consul—Hortense de Beauharnais marries Louis Bonaparte—Messrs. Fox and De Calonne in Paris—Prosperity and Luxury of all Classes—Approach of the Session of the Year X.—Warm Opposition raised against some of the best Plans of the First Consul—Causes of this Opposition, shown not only by Members of the Deliberative Assemblies, but by some Distinguished Officers of the Army—Conduct of Generals Lannes, Augereau, and Moreau—Opening of the Session—Dupuis, Author of the Work on the Origin of all Religions, is elected President of the Legislative Body—Ballot for the Places vacant in the Senate—Nomination of the Abbé Grégoire, contrary to the Propositions of the First Consul—Violent Explo-

PAGE.

sion in the Tribunate, on Account of the word *Subject* introduced into the Treaty with Russia—Opposition to the Civil Code—Discussion in the Council of State respecting the Course to be adopted under these Circumstances—It is resolved to await the Discussion of the First Sections of the Civil Code—The Tribunate rejects those First Sections—Result of the Ballot for the Places vacant in the Senate—The First Consul proposes old Generals not selected from among his Creatures—The Tribunate and the Legislative Body reject them, and agree to propose M. Daunou, known for his Opposition to the Government—Warm Speech made by the First Consul to a Meeting of Senators—Threats of an Arbitrary Measure—The Opponents, being intimidated, submit, and contrive a Subterfuge to annul the Effect of the First Ballots—Cambacérès dissuades the First Consul from any illegal Measure, and advises him to get rid of the Opposition Members by means of Article XXXVIII. of the Constitution, which prescribes that the First Fifth of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate shall go out in the Year X.—The First Consul adopts this Idea—Suspension of all the Legislative Labours—Advantage is taken of it to assemble at Lyons an Italian Diet, by the Title of Consulta—Before leaving Paris, the First Consul despatches a Fleet with Troops for St. Domingo—Plan for the reconquest of that Colony—Negotiations of Amiens—Object of the Consulta convoked at Lyons—Various Constitutions proposed for Italy—Plans of the First Consul relative to this Subject—Creation of the Italian Republic—General Bonaparte proclaimed President of that Republic—Enthusiasm of the Italians and French assembled at Lyons—Grand Review of the Army of Egypt—Return of the First Consul to Paris 171

BOOK XIV.

CONSULATE FOR LIFE.

Arrival of the First Consul in Paris—Scrutiny of the Senate, which excludes sixty Members of the Legislative Body and twenty Members of the Tribunate—The excluded Members succeeded by Men devoted to the Government—End of the Congress of Amiens—Some Difficulties arise at the last Moment of the Negotiation, in consequence of Jealousies excited in England—The First Consul surmounts these Difficulties by his Moderation and his Firmness—The Definitive Peace signed 25th of March, 1802—Although the first Enthusiasm for Peace has subsided in France and in England, they welcome, with renewed Joy, the Hope of a sincere and durable Reconciliation—Extraordinary Session of the Year X., destined to convert into Law, the Concordat, the Treaty of Amiens, and different Projects of high Importance—The Law for regulating Religious Matters added to the Concordat, under the Title of *Organic Articles*—Presentation of this Law and of the Concordat to the new Legislative Body and the Tribunate—Coldness with which these two Projects are received, even after the Exclusion of the Oppositionists—They are adopted—The First Consul fixes on Easter Sunday for the Publication of the Concordat, and for the first Ceremony of the Re-established Religion—Organisation of the New Clergy—Part assigned to the Constitutionalists in the Nomination of Bishops—Cardinal Caprara refuses, in the Name of the Holy See, to institute the Constitutionalists—Firmness of the First Consul, and Submission of Cardi-

PAGE.

nal Caprara—Official Reception of the Cardinal as Legate *à latere*—Consecration of the four principal Bishops at Notre Dame on Palm Sunday—Curiosity and Emotion of the Public—The very Eve of Easter Day, and of the solemn *Te Deum* which was to be chanted at Notre Dame, Cardinal Caprara wishes to impose on the Constitutionalists a humiliating Recantation of their past Conduct—New Resistance on the part of the First Consul—Cardinal Caprara does not yield until the Night before Easter Day—Repugnance of the Generals to repair to Notre Dame—The First Consul obliges them to it—Solemn *Te Deum* and Official Restoration of Religion—Adherence of the Public, and Joy of the First Consul on seeing the Success of his Efforts—Publication of the *Génie du Christianisme*—Project of a General Amnesty with regard to the Emigrants—This Measure, having been discussed in the Council of State, becomes the Object of a *Senatus Consultum*—Views of the First Consul on the Organisation of Society in France—His Opinions on Social Distinctions, and on the Education of Youth—Two Projects of Law of High Importance, on the Institution of the Legion of Honour, and on Public Instruction—Discussion of these two Projects in a full Council of State—Character of the Discussions of that Great Body—Language of the First Consul—Presentation of the two Projects to the Legislative Body and to the Tribunate—Adoption, by a great Majority, of the Project of Law relative to Public Instruction—A large Minority pronounces against the Project relative to the Legion of Honour—The Treaty of Amiens presented last, as the Crowning Work of the First Consul—Reception given to this Treaty—It affords occasion for saying that a National Recompense ought to be conferred on the Author of all the Benefits enjoyed by France—The Partisans and Brothers of Bonaparte contemplate the Re-establishment of Monarchy—This Idea appears premature—The Idea of conferring the Consulate for Life prevails generally—The Consul Cambacérès offers his Intervention with the Senate—Dissimulation of the First Consul, who will not avow what he is desirous of—Embarrassment of Consul Cambacérès—His Efforts to induce the Senate to confer the Consulate on General Bonaparte for the Rest of his Life—The Secret Enemies of the General profit by his Silence to persuade the Senate that a Prolongation of the Consulate for Ten Years should suffice—Vote of the Senate on this Construction—Displeasure of the First Consul—He thinks of refusing—His Colleague, Cambacérès hinders him from doing so, and proposes, as an Expedient, to appeal to the National Sovereignty, and to put the Question to France, to know if General Bonaparte shall be Consul for Life—The Council of State charged to draw up the Question—Opening of Registries to secure Votes in the Mayoralty Offices, the Tribunals, and the Offices of Notaries Public—Eagerness of all the Citizens to tender their Affirmative Votes—Change wrought in the Constitution of M. Sieyès—The First Consul receives the Consulate for Life, with the Power of appointing a Successor—The Senate is invested with the Constituent Power—The Lists of Notability abolished, and replaced by Electoral Colleges for Life—The Tribunate reduced to be only a Section of the Council of State—The New Constitution becomes completely Monarchical—Civil List of the First Consul—He is proclaimed solemnly by the Senate—General Satisfaction at having founded, at last, a strong and durable Power—The First Consul takes the Name of Napoleon Bonaparte—His Moral Power is at its Culminating Point—*Resumé* of this Period of Three Years 241

HISTORY

OF

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

OF

FRANCE

UNDER

NAPOLEON.

BOOK X.

EVACUATION OF EGYPT.

THE aim which the First Consul had in view in assuming power, was now on the eve of attainment; for tranquillity reigned throughout France, and peace having been signed at Lunéville with Austria, Germany, and the Italian powers, virtually re-established with Russia, and in train of negotiation at London with England;—these events filled the minds of the people with profound satisfaction. Once formally signed with these two latter cabinets, peace would become general, and in twenty-two months young Bonaparte would have accomplished his noble task, and have rendered his country the most happy, and the most powerful of all the nations in the universe. But it was necessary to complete this mighty work; above all, it was essential to conclude peace with England; for, so long as that power had not laid down its arms, we were excluded from the seas, and, what was more serious still, the continental war might be revived under the corrupting influence of British subsidies. The general exhaustion left England, it is true, but a slender chance of being able to re-arm the continent against us. Even but recently she had witnessed the greater part of Europe combined with us against her maritime supremacy,

and, had not the death of Paul supervened, she might have expiated fatally her acts of violence against the neutral powers. But this sudden death was an unexpected and grave occurrence, which could not fail to produce a considerable change in the present aspect of affairs.

What influence, then, would the catastrophe at St. Petersburg exercise over the affairs of Europe? This was still a doubtful question, and the First Consul was impatient to solve it. He had sent Duroc to St. Petersburg, in order to obtain, as early as possible, the most correct information.

A short time before the death of Paul, our relations with Russia had still presented considerable difficulties, in consequence of the excessive pride of that emperor, and the no less excessive pride of his ambassador at Paris, M. de Kalitscheff. The deceased czar, as we have said elsewhere, wished to dictate, authoritatively, the conditions of peace to be entered into by France with Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Piedmont, and the Two Sicilies—states, of which he had made himself the protector, either by his own spontaneous will, or compulsorily, in pursuance of treaties, which had been contrived by the second coalition. He was desirous even of regulating our relations with the Porte, and insisted that the First Consul ought to evacuate Egypt, inasmuch as that province belonged to the sultan, and that there was no good grounds whatever, he said, for depriving him of it.

The emperor, inflamed as he was against England, was, nevertheless, a dangerous ally; misunderstandings might at any moment be revived, even with him. Moreover, that which only appeared as a symptom of insanity on the part of the emperor Paul, was a remarkable instance of the progress of Russian ambition, during three-quarters of a century. In fact, it was but eighty years before that Peter the Great, attracting, for the first time, the attention of all Europe, limited the sphere of his policy to the north of that continent, by contending against Charles XII., in order to carry the election of a king for Poland. Forty years afterwards, Russia, extending already her ambition towards Germany, entered into a contest against Frederick, in conjunction with Austria and France, in order to prevent the consolidation of the Prussian power. Some years afterwards, in 1772, she partitioned Poland. In 1778, she advanced a step farther, and participated, equally with France, in the regulation of German affairs, interposing her mediation between Prussia and Austria, who were ready to come to blows about the succession of Bavaria, and had the signal honour of guaranteeing the German constitution at Teschen. In short, before the cycle of the century was complete, in 1799, she marched 100,000 Russians into Italy, not to settle a question of territory, but a moral question—to preserve, she said, the balance of power in Europe, and social order which was menaced by the French Revolution.

The history of the world furnishes no example of such aggran-

ment of influence by any one power, in so short a time. al, in aspiring to be himself the arbiter of every thing, as the ce of his alliance with the First Consul, was, therefore, but the conscious instrument of a policy which was the result of profound consideration in the Russian cabinet. His representative at Paris required, in a tone of cold and persevering disdainfulness, that which his master demanded, in that frame of excessive excitement, with which he was accustomed to enforce his wishes. He affected ridiculously, to constitute himself the protector of the minor powers, who were now at the mercy of France, after having given her deep offence. The court of Naples had even sought to place herself under this protection, but this had not been attended with success, as M. de Gallo had been sent away from Paris, and his court had been compelled to submit, at Florence, to the conditions imposed by the First Consul. M. de Saint Marsan, who was empowered to represent the house of Savoy, in treating with the French Republic, wished to follow the example of M. de Gallo, and had been also dismissed.

M. de Kalitscheff had eagerly supported the pretensions of the cabinets of Naples, and of Turin, whose states his court had guaranteed, and he took it for granted, when signing a treaty with France, that he was not merely to confine himself to stipulate for the re-establishment of friendly relations between the two empires, which had no subject-matter in dispute, neither at sea, nor on the continent; but further to regulate the affairs of Germany and Italy, in almost all their details, and even those of the East, for he still persisted in demanding the restitution of Egypt to the Porte.

In spite of a wish to keep on friendly terms with the emperor Paul, we replied to his ambassador with firmness. We had agreed to add to the public treaty, which was to re-establish, unconditionally, peace and amity between the two states, a secret convention, in which an undertaking was entered into, to concert with Russia the adjustment of the Germanic indemnities, and to favour especially the courts of Baden, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria, with which Russia was connected, either by ties of relationship or alliance; to reserve an indemnification for the house of Savoy, if not reinstated in its dominions; but without specifying the place, the time, nor the extent; as the First Consul had already conceived the design of reserving Piedmont for France. That was all that could be conceded. As for Naples, the treaty of Florence was declared irrevocable, and, as regarded the restitution of Egypt, we had come to a decision not to listen to one word upon the subject.

M. de Kalitscheff insisting, with a tone and manner sufficiently unbecoming, upon these points, it ended in not making any further reply to his applications, and leaving him at Paris, in rather an embarrassing position, with the engagements he had

come under to the minor powers. Such was the posture of af when the news of the tragical death of Paul I. arrived. M. Kalitscheff, without waiting for further orders from his new so reign, and anxious to extricate himself from the false position which he had placed himself, addressed, on the 26th of April, peremptory note to M. de Talleyrand, in which he demanded ar immediate answer to all the points of the negotiation, complaining that things conceded, said he, at Berlin, between genera Beurnonville and M. de Krudener, were disputed at Paris. He seemed even to insinuate that, if the minor states were not bette treated by France, the glory of the First Consul would be tarnished, and that his administration would be confounded with the revolutionary governments which had preceded it.

M. de Talleyrand replied to him immediately, that his despatch was very unbecoming, that it was deficient in the respect due from one independent power to another; that it could not be submitted to the First Consul, whose dignity would be justly offended by it; that M. de Kalitscheff might therefore consider it, as not having been written; and that the reply solicited, in the name of his cabinet, would not be made until the application should be renewed in other terms, and in another despatch.

This severe rebuke had great effect on M. de Kalitscheff. He seemed to be alarmed at the consequences of his proceeding Already, even, the minor protégés who sheltered themselves behind him, were growing afraid of his protection, and felt regret at having intrusted their interests to his keeping. M. de Kalitscheff, having no alternative but to remain without an answer, or to remodel his claims in a better shape, wrote a second note, in which he reiterated his demand for an explanation, but confined himself to the simple enumeration of each point, unaccompanied by any comments, by any complaint, and even without the usual compliments. The despatch was cold, but unobjectionable. He was then told by M. de Talleyrand, that, couched in their present shape, the questions should be submitted to the First Consul, and should receive duly a reply. It was added by M. de Talleyrand, that the latter despatch only would be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and that the preceding one should be destroyed.

Some few days after, M. de Talleyrand replied to M. de Kalitscheff, in very polite but explicit terms. He recapitulated all the points of the decision of the French cabinet, and added this natural reflection—that if France had consented, touching many of the most important affairs of Europe, to act in amicable concert with Russia, and had appeared disposed to act in deference to her wishes, it was in consideration of the close alliance formed with Paul, against the policy of England; but that, since the accession of the czar Alexander, it was essential, previous to making the same concessions, to know whether the new emperor would

r into the same views, and to be absolutely assured, that he ıld prove as resolute and determined an ally as the deceased peror.

From that day M. de Kalitscheff remained quiet, and waited or instructions from his new master.

The prince, who had just ascended the throne of the czars, was of a singular character; singular, as most of the princes who have eigned over Russia for the last century. Alexander was just wenty-five years of age; he was tall in stature, and although ıot possessing quite regular features, had a noble and sweet countenance; he was endowed with an acute understanding; and ıis generosity of heart, was united with the most perfect graceful- ıess of manners. Nevertheless, some of the traces of hereditary nfirmity might be discerned in him. His lively, volatile, and usceptible mind was easily and successively impressed with the nost incompatible ideas. Yet this remarkable prince was not ılways merely hurried away by the impulse of the moment; there vas a depth of understanding in his enlarged quick perception of hings, which escaped the discrimination of the closest observers. He was honourable, yet at the same time a dissembler, capable ıf artifice; and already some of these good qualities and defects, ıad begun to develop themselves, in the tragical events which ıad preceded his advent to power. Let us, however, take care o guard ourselves against calumniating this illustrious prince; ıe had been completely under a delusion with respect to the lesigns of count Pahlen. He had imagined, with the inexperience ıf youth, that the abdication of his father was the sole object neditated, and would have been the only result of the conspiracy vhich had been confided to him; he had thought, in lending him- elf thereto, to save the empire, his mother, his brothers, and ıimself from unknown violence. Now, enlightened by the event, ıe abhorred the error of which he had been guilty, and those who ıad made him their instrument in its consummation. This young emperor, in short, noble in aspect, gracious in manners, witty nthusiastic, mercurial, artificial, hard to fathom, was endowed with ın irresistible personal charm, and destined to exercise the most eductive influence over his cotemporaries. He was now called ıpon to exert this seductive influence, upon the extraordinary man, o difficult to deceive, who at that time swayed the destinies of France, and with whom at a future period, he was destined to be nvolved in such serious and terrible differences.

The education which this young prince had received, was a very trange one. A pupil of colonel Laharpe, who had inspired him vith the sentiments and ideas of Swiss republicanism, Alexander ıad yielded with his accustomed facility, to the influence of ıis preceptor, and visibly felt the effect of these principles, when ıe ascended the throne. Whilst he was yet an imperial prince, continually subjected to a severe yoke, at one time that of Catherine, and afterwards that of Paul, he had formed acquaintance

with some young men of his own age, such as M. Paul Strogo M. de Nowosiltzoff, and above all with prince Adam Czartori This last, the scion of one of the most distinguished families Poland, and deeply attached to his country, was at St. Petersbu as a sort of hostage; he served in the regiment of guards, an lived at court, with the young grand dukes. Alexander, attracte towards him by a community of sentiments and ideas, communi cated to him all the reveries of his youth. They both deplore in secret the misfortunes of Poland, which was extremely natura in a descendant of the Czartoriskys, but somewhat surprising i the grandson of Catherine; and Alexander vowed solemnly to hi friend, that when he should be seated on the throne, he woul restore to unhappy Poland her laws and her liberties.

Paul having perceived this intimacy, took some umbrage at it and banished prince Czartorisky, by appointing him Russia minister to a king without any dominions, that is to say his Sar dinian majesty. No sooner was Alexander proclaimed empero than he despatched a courier to his friend, then residing a Rome, and recalled him to St. Petersburg. He also collecte round his person, Messrs. Paul Strogonoff, and de Nowosiltzoff and thus formed a sort of secret government, composed of youn men without experience, animated by generous sentiments, whic all of them have not preserved; their minds being filled with wil illusions, and little qualified, it must be admitted, to direct th affairs of a great country, in the critical and perplexing conjunctur of the time. They were eager to get rid of the old Russians, wh had held the reins of government up to that period, and with whon they entertained no sentiments whatever in common. One per sonage alone, their senior in years, with greater steadiness of cha racter, prince Kotschoubey, mingled in this society of youn men, and corrected by a more ripened judgment their youthfu vivacity. He had travelled over Europe, and had acquired muc valuable knowledge; in conversation, he availed himself of ever opportunity of impressing upon his sovereign a due sense of th improvements, which he thought might advantageously be intro duced into the internal government of the empire. They all con curred in condemning the policy, which consisted, at first in de claring war against France on account of the revolution, and after wards in carrying it on against England, about a dogma of the law of nations. They neither wished to wage a war of principle against France, nor a maritime war against England. The grea empire of the north, according to their notions, ought to hold th balance between these two powers, which threatened to make th whole world their prey, and thus to become the arbiter of Europe the stay of the weaker states against the more powerful. But generally speaking, their attention was directed less to foreig policy, than to the interior regeneration of the empire; they went so far as to contemplate the organic change of new institu tions, modelled partly upon what they had seen abroad in civi-

countries; they were actuated, in short, by all the generous inexperience, and the presumption of youth.

ostensible ministers of Alexander were all old Russians, ced against France, prepossessed in favour of England, moreover, extremely disagreeable to their sovereign. Count n alone, thanks to the firmness of his judgment, did not in the prejudices of his colleagues, and was desirous of ng aloof from any external influence, and of remaining l between France and England. In this respect, his ideas were in accordance with those of the new emperor, and of his friends. But count Pahlen committed the error of treating Alexander as a youthful prince, whom he had placed on the throne, whom he had directed, and whom he wanted still to keep under his direction. The sensitive vanity of his young master, was consequently frequently wounded. Count Pahlen also behaved with great harshness to the dowager empress, who exhibited an ostentatious grief, and a deadly hatred against the murderers of her husband. In a religious establishment endowed by her bounty, the dowager empress had placed an image of the virgin, with Paul represented at her feet, invoking the vengeance of heaven upon the heads of his assassins. Count Pahlen ordered the image to be removed in spite of the cries of the empress, and the dissatisfaction of the son. An authority exercised so harshly could not be permanent.

In the early part of the reign, Count Panin continued to preside over the department of foreign affairs; count Pahlen remained the most influential minister, taking part in all the different branches of the government. Alexander having first concerted measures with his friends, transacted business afterwards with his ostensible ministers. Under these various influences, sometimes thwarting each other, it was decided to treat with England, and to commence by raising the embargo laid upon the English vessels, which, in the opinion of Alexander, was a most unjustifiable measure. They decided, that it was desirable to conclude with lord St. Helens such a maritime convention as would at least protect the interests of Russia, if it did not save the rights of the neutrals. Alexander classing among the unreasonable notions of his father, the pretension of being the grand master of the order of Jerusalem, declared that he would be only its protector, until the different nations, of which the order was composed, could be convened and elect a new grand master. This resolution at once removed many difficulties with the English on one hand, who, set a great value upon Malta; and with the French on the other, who were not disposed to carry the war to extremity, in order to restore this island to the order; and also with the courts of Rome and Spain, neither of which had ever consented to recognise a schismatic prince, as the grand master of St. John of Jerusalem.

In order to put an end to another subject of contention, that

with France, it was resolved that the evacuation of Egypt be no longer insisted upon; Russia was, in fact, more int in seeing it in the hands of the French, than in those of th lish. With regard to Naples and Piedmont, Russia, it was was bound to them by solemn treaties, and Alexand his first appearance in the character of a sovereign, was a to create an exalted idea, of his integrity of purpose. settled that she would no longer claim for the court of N the revocation of the treaty of Florence, but simply the gu tee of its present dominions, and the evacuation, at the peac of the gulf of Tarentum. As to Piedmont, she resolved to de mand for the house of Savoy, either Piedmont itself, or in defaul thereof, a corresponding indemnity. Moreover, Alexander pre tended to a share, in concert with France, in the regulation of th indemnities promised to the German princes, for their territoria losses on the left bank of the Rhine. Nothing in all this pre sented any difficulty, as the First Consul had already concurre in these arrangements. M. de Kalitscheff was recalled, and M de Markoff appointed to succeed him; a man of undoubte ability, but with respect to knowledge of official forms, not whit superior to his predecessor.

Duroc, who had been dispatched to congratulate the nev emperor, found on his arrival at St. Petersburg, all these point determined upon, and received, both from the ministers and th monarch, the most gracious reception. His elegant deportment his intelligence and tact, succeeded in Russia, as in Prussia and he contrived to inspire both esteem and confidence. Afte the usual formal audiences, he obtained several private con ferences, in which Alexander seemed to take pleasure in unveil ing his real sentiments, to the representative of the First Consul One day especially, in one of the public gardens of St. Peters burg, the prince perceived Duroc, advanced towards him, anc accosting him with a familiarity replete with elegance, dismiss ing the officers in attendance, led him to a retired spot, anc seemed to open himself to him, with the most unrestrainec freedom. "I am," he said to him, "at heart, a friend of France and have admired for a long time, your new ruler; I duly appre ciate all that he has done, for the repose of his country, and fo the maintenance of social order in Europe. It is not from me that he need apprehend a new war between the two empires. But on his part, let him reciprocate these sentiments, and avoic furnishing pretexts to others, who are jealous of his power. You see I have made concessions: I say no more about Egypt; I prefer that it should belong to France, rather than to England and if unfortunately the English seize upon it, I will unite with you, to wrest it from their hands. I have given up Malta, in order to remove the obstacles which stood in the way of the peace of Europe. I am bound to the kings of Piedmont and Naples by treaties; I am conscious that their conduct to France

n indefensible; but how were they to act, hemmed in as re, and domineered over by England? I should deeply to see the First Consul seize upon Piedmont, as the cts of his policy would lead one to believe he intended. complains of being deprived of part of her territory. All nworthy of the ambition of the First Consul, and tar- his glory. He is not taxed like the governments which ed him, with menacing social order, but he is accused of ng to overrun all countries. This is injurious to him, and poses me personally, to the clamour of the minor princes, by hom I am continually importuned. Let him remove these diffi- ulties between us, and we shall live for the future, upon a per- fectly good understanding."

Alexander, giving way to his feelings, further added: "Do not repeat any thing I now say to my ministers; be discreet; employ only trustworthy couriers. But tell general Bonaparte to send me men on whom I can rely. The most direct relations will be found best suited to establish good feeling between the two governments." Alexander further said a few words respecting England. He affirmed that he would not give up to her the dominion of the seas, the common property of all nations; that if he had removed the embargo on her vessels, it was only from a sense of justice. Existing treaties allowed, in cases of upture, one entire year to enable the English merchants to liqui- ate their affairs; it was, therefore, obviously an injustice to ize upon their property. "I will be guilty of no such act," claimed Alexander, with emotion; "I have no other motive han a sense of justice. But I have no intention of becoming satellite of England. It depends entirely upon the First Con- ul, whether I shall continue to be his ally, his friend."

The young emperor, during this conversation, showed himself npretending, confiding, desirous above all to set aside his mi- isters, and make it evident that he had personal views, and a olicy of his own.

Duroc quitted St. Petersburg, loaded with favours and proofs of regard from the emperor.

It was obvious, from these communications that Russia could no longer be of any great assistance against England, but that for the future, there would be much less difficulty in the settlement of general affairs. The First Consul, confident now of being able to come to an understanding with this cabinet, did not hurry himself to conclude the negotiation, inasmuch as time seemed every day to smooth the difficulties which still subsisted between it and France. England indeed, at that moment, evinced but little interest respecting the houses of Naples and Piedmont, and if, as there was reason to believe, she no longer made their interests one of the conditions of the peace, it must be much more easy to act as we might deem proper, towards these two houses,

when England herself had so far abandoned them, as to gi up to the First Consul.

The negotiation with England, became then the para and almost the exclusive object at this moment. To ma properly, it was not only necessary to treat skilfully a don, but also to push on briskly the war with Portug dispute vigorously with the British forces the posses Egypt: as the issue of events in those two parts of the must exercise a great influence over the future treaty. First Consul, wishing to throw another weight into the sca caused preparations to be made with great parade at Boulogne and at Calais, in order that it might be believed, that this ex treme measure of an invasion of England, which the Directory had long meditated, was neither relinquished, nor beyond his ain and resources. Numerous corps were put in motion towards tha part of France, and a great number of substantially-built gun boats were collected on the coasts of Normandy, Picardy, anc Flanders, heavily armed, and rendered fit for the transport o troops across the channel at Calais.

In pursuance of their previous arrangements, lord Hawkes bury and M. Otto had been engaged during the middle of April 1801 (germinal, year IX.), in diplomatic conferences. According to custom, the first pretensions were excessive. England pro posed a very simple arrangement as a basis, namely, the *uti pos sidetis*, that is to say, that each of the powers should keep th acquisitions which the events of the war had placed in its hand England, in fact, profiting by the protracted struggle betwe Europe and France, had enriched herself, whilst her allies ha become exhausted, and she had possessed herself of the colonies c all other nations. She had seized upon the entire continent c India, as well as upon the most important commercial station in the four quarters of the globe. From the Dutch she hac taken Ceylon, that extensive and valuable island, which, placed a the extremity of the Indian peninsula, forms to it a most desirabl addition. She had acquired the other possessions of the Dutch in the Indian seas, with the exception, it is true, of the splendid island of Java. She had wrested from them, between the two oceans, the Cape of Good Hope, one of the best situated naval stations in the world. Her most persevering efforts had never been able to obtain the Mauritius, the possession of which we had never ceased to maintain at any time. In South America, she had deprived the unfortunate Dutch, the most ill-treated power during the whole war, of the territory of Guiana, extending from the Amazon to the Oronoko, comprising Surinam, Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, magnificent countries, the agricultural and commercial resources of which had not at that time, and have not yet been fully developed, but which dependencies, are destined one day to arrive at a vast prosperity,

oreover presented the temptation of forming an advanced
vards the great Spanish colonies of the American conti-
ngland coveted those colonies; at least she entertained the
of aiding them to obtain their independence, to revenge
r what had occurred in North America, and she flat-
rself, moreover, with reason, that once having become
dent, they would soon fall a prey to her commerce. For
he reason she set a great value upon the conquest of one of
st India islands, made from the Spaniards, the fine island of
ad, contiguous to South America, being a sort of foothold,
vantageously situated either for contraband trade, or for the
rposes of aggression against the Spanish possessions. She
d also made an acquisition of great value in the West Indies,
hich was Martinique, taken from the French. The mode by
ich she had accomplished this, had not been very legitimate,
the colonists of Martinique, apprehensive of an insurrection of
e slaves, had placed themselves temporarily in the hands of
he English, who had converted a voluntary surrender into an
tual property. England clung to Martinique on account of the
rge harbour in that island. She had also taken, in the West
ndies, St. Lucia and Tobago, moderate-sized islands compared
with the preceding, and near the fishing stations, St. Pierre and
Miquelon. Lastly, in Europe she had taken from the Spaniards
the most valuable of the Balearic islands, and from the French,
ho had captured it from the knights of St. John of Jerusalem,
alta, the queen of the Mediterranean.

After these conquests, it may be said that there was not much
t for her to dispute with the maritime nations, the continental
ssessions of the Spaniards in the two Americas excepted. It is
ue that the English threatened, if the expedition against Portugal
ere further prosecuted, to indemnify themselves by the seizure of
razil.

To counterbalance these vast maritime acquisitions, France
ad seized upon the finest portions of the European continent, as-
uredly much more important than all England's distant territories,
ut we had restored them all, with the exception of that portion
omprised between the great lines of the Alps, the Rhine, and
he Pyrenees. She had conquered besides, a colony, which to
er was alone equivalent, for all the colonial greatness acquired
y England,—this was Egypt. No other possession was of
qual value to that. If it was meditated to shake anew the
British possessions in India, Egypt was the most certain route
by which to reach them. If it was only contemplated, which
was the wiser policy, to bring back to the ports of France a por-
ion of the trade of the east, Egypt, again, was the natural
channel for this commerce. In time of peace, as in war, it was
he most valuable colony in the world. If at the moment the
f the French government, had only considered the interests
ance, and not those of her allies, he might have accepted the

terms proposed by England; for Martinique itself, t
positive loss worthy of attention which France had
during the war, was of little consequence compared with
a real empire placed between the seas of the east and t
commanding, and at the same time shortening, the com
tion between these two seas. But the First Consul co
himself in honour bound to restore to the allies of Fra
greater part of their possessions. It did not depend upon
save Holland from all the sacrifices which she was cond
to suffer from the defection of her navy, which had follow
we know, the stadtholder to England; but he felt himself cal
upon to require the restitution of the Cape and Guiana: he w
desirous that Spain, who had acquired nothing during the w
should also lose nothing, and that Trinidad and the Balea
islands should be restored to her; finally, it was decided not
cede Malta at any price, as that would at once weaken our co
quest of Egypt, and render its possession precarious in
hands.

His intention then was to leave England in undisturbed po
session of Hindostan, including the small factories of Chande
nagor and Pondicherry, which were not of any consequence to us
to add even Ceylon, the property of the Dutch, but to require the
restitution of the Cape, Guiana, Trinidad, Martinique, the
Balearic islands, and Malta; but to retain Egypt, considering this
conquest as an equivalent to France, for the acquisition of t
Indian continent by England. We shall see in what way
proceeded to accomplish these objects, during a negotiati
which lasted five entire months.

To the proposition made of adopting the *uti possidetis*, as t
basis of a future treaty of peace, the French negotiator was i
structed to reply, by the most explicit arguments. "You wish
lay down, as a principle," he said to lord Hawkesbury, "tha
each of the two nations should keep whatever she has co
quered; but, in that case, France should, in Germany, kee
Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and three-fourths of Austria; sh
should, in Italy, keep the whole of Italy, that is to say, the
ports of Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, and Venice; she should keep
Switzerland, which she intends to evacuate as soon as she has
re-established there a proper order of things; she should kee
Holland, occupied by her armies, and where she would be en
abled to equip the most powerful squadrons. She could take
Hanover, and give it as a compensation to certain powers on
the continent, and, by this means, attach these powers to her
for ever. She could, in short, prosecute the campaign com-
menced against Portugal, indemnify Spain with the spoils of
that state, and secure new ports for herself. How important would
be these naval stations, stretching from the Texel to Lisbon
and Cadiz, from Cadiz to Genoa, from Genoa to Ot
and from Otranto to Venice. If abstract principles were t

the moment was highly auspicious for the accomplishment of his purpose, as admiral Warren, who was incessantly cruising between Malta and Gibraltar, had but four ships, all the remainder of the English force being with admiral Keith, engaged in transporting the army intended for landing in Egypt. Unfortunately, Ganteaume was unaware of these circumstances, and the grave responsibility which rested upon him, caused him an irrepressible anxiety, which the cannon balls of the enemy would never have produced in his intrepid breast. Annoyed by two hostile vessels which approached him too closely, the Sprightly, cutter, and the Success, frigate, he gave them chase, and captured them both. At length he passed the straits, and bore down the Mediterranean. He had nothing more to do than to set every stitch of canvass, and make the best of his way towards the East. Admiral Warren, in fact, was lying snugly in Mahon harbour, while admiral Keith, with his hands full, and a fleet of 200 transports to look after, had not yet quitted the coast of Asia Minor. The shores of Egypt were thus perfectly accessible, and the succour for which the French were impatiently waiting, and which had been promised them so long, might have been easily conveyed to them. But Ganteaume, perpetually anxious for the safety of his squadron, and still more for the fate of the numerous troops he had on board, became apprehensive at the sight of the smallest vessel which he encountered. He imagined that there was between him and Egypt a hostile fleet, which was in fact not the case; he was, above all, alarmed at the state of his vessels, and feared that, should it be necessary to press all sail before an enemy of superior force, that he would not be able to effect it with his masts damaged by the gale, and hastily repaired at sea. He had thus lost all confidence in himself. Dissatisfied with the *Bravoure* frigate, which did not sail to his liking, he wanted to get rid of her, and send her to Toulon. Instead of sending her on to that port, and continuing himself to run along the coast of Africa, by steering a due easterly course, he committed the error of standing to the north, and getting in sight of Toulon. His intention was to escort the *Bravoure* part of the way, in order to protect her against the enemy's cruisers; an insufficient reason, certainly, as it was infinitely better to run the risk of losing the frigate than to place in jeopardy the fate of the whole enterprise. Owing to this blunder, he was perceived by admiral Warren, who instantly quitted Mahon. Ganteaume, to deceive him, pretended to give chase. The gallant captain Bergeret, in command of the ship the *Dix-Août*, outstripping the other vessels of our squadron, reconnoitred the English more closely, and only discerned four line of battle ships, and two frigates. Delighted at this discovery he thought that, being superior in force to the English, we should bear down upon them and give chase, or engage them. But suddenly a signal was thrown out to give up the pursuit, and to rejoin the squadron. This brave

officer, overwhelmed with mortification, immediately put himself in communication with Ganteaume, assured him that his watch on the look-out was mistaken, and that the enemy's force did not exceed four ships; unavailing efforts! Ganteaume thought he distinguished seven or eight, and resolved to continue his course towards the north. It was, however, perfectly certain, as the official report of admiral Warren has since shown, that we had really only four of the enemy's ships to contend against.* Ganteaume then bore up towards the gulf of Lyons, in order to protect the *Bravoure*, and here, again catching sight of the English squadron, ran in consternation into Toulon. There, troubles of another sort awaited him, no less than the apprehension of having incurred the anger of the First Consul, indignant at finding so important an expedition placed in jeopardy when success seemed certain. This fatal conduct lost us Egypt, which at that moment might have been saved.

In fact, whilst Ganteaume was beating to windward between the coast of Africa and Mahon, two frigates, the *Justice* and the *Egyptienne*, which left Toulon with munitions of war, and 100 troops, had sailed to the eastward, without falling in with a single English vessel, and had got into Alexandria. Two other frigates, the *Régénérée* and the *Africaine*, from Rochefort, had proceeded round the peninsula, and got safe into the Mediterranean, without encountering any accident. Unfortunately, they parted company. The *Régénérée* arrived, without any untoward occurrence, before Alexandria on the 2nd of March, 1801 (11th Ventôse, year IX.). The *Africaine* fell in with an English frigate, during the night, and stopped to engage her. She had 300 troops on board, who, desirous of taking part in the engagement, occasioned frightful confusion, and, after an heroic defence, became the cause of their defeat. She was captured by the English frigate. But, as may be seen, out of six frigates which sailed, some from Toulon, some from Rochefort, three arrived in safety, finding the coast of Egypt free from the presence of the enemy, and so easily accessible, that they entered the port of Alexandria without firing a shot; so difficult it is for vessels to meet in the immensity of the ocean; so greatly does courage stand in aid of the brave officer, who ventures to risk his flag in the achievement of a glorious enterprise!

Ganteaume put into Toulon, on the 19th of February (30th Pluviôse), overwhelmed with fatigue and anxiety, experiencing, as he wrote to the First Consul,† every imaginable torment at the same moment; and well he might, since he had placed in jeopardy, interests of the highest consequence. The First

* See the report of admiral Warren, of the 23d of April, 1801, inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 27th Messidor, year IX. (double number, 296 and 297.)

† See his letter of the 19th of February (30th Pluviôse), [redacted] day of his arrival at Toulon, and still preserved among the [redacted] Admiralty.

Consul, naturally irritable, had but little or no command of temper, when his well-laid plans were marred through incapacity or mismanagement. But he had a thorough knowledge of human nature; he knew that it was not wise, at the very moment of action, to betray indications of dissatisfaction, because, by that course, men were disheartened, instead of being reanimated; he knew that Ganteaume required to be encouraged, supported, and not driven to despair, by any of those ebullitions of anger, which, at that time, were dreaded by all as the greatest of misfortunes. Accordingly, instead of loading him with reproaches, he despatched to him his aide-de-camp, Lacuée, to comfort and console him, to place funds at his disposal, and thus to urge him to proceed again to sea without delay. His rebuke was confined to censuring Ganteaume mildly, for having quitted the coasts of Africa for the Balearic islands, and for thus having brought admiral Warren in pursuit of him.

Ganteaume was a very brave man, a good seaman, and an excellent officer. But the state of his mind at this moment proves, that responsibility affects men far more than the cannon's danger. This is highly creditable to them, as it proves that they fear still more to compromise the interests with which they are intrusted, than to risk their own lives. Ganteaume, encouraged by the First Consul, set to work; but he lost time, either in repairing the damages done to his vessels, or in waiting for a favourable wind. More than one favourable opportunity still offered, and might have been improved. Admiral Warren had set sail towards Naples and Sicily. Admiral Keith, it is true, was on his way towards Aboukir, with the English army; but it was not impossible to d[redacted]gilance, and to land the French troops, [redacted]kir, that is to say, at Damietta, or mo[redacted] on this [redacted]enty or twenty-five leagues to the west [redacted]f Alexan[redacted]would have enabled our troops to re-enter Egyp[redacted]few marches across the desert.

Whilst every exertion was bo[redacted]y the First Consul to expedite the second departure [redacted]me, fresh letters from Paris were urging the organisa[redacted]quadrons of Rochefort, of Ferrol, and of Cadiz, in or[redacted]onvey succour to Egypt, by each of these channels at the same time. At length Ganteaume, reanimated by the exhortation of the First Consul, mingled with numberless testimonies of kindness, again set sail on the 19th of March (28th Ventôse). But, on going out of the harbour, the ship *Constitution* grounded. Two days elapsed before she could be got afloat. On the 22nd of March (1st Germinal), the squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line, and several frigates, again hoisted sail, and proceeded towards Sardinia, without being perceived by the English.

It was very desirable that these efforts should succeed, at least in part; for our army in Egypt, left to its own resources, was threatened by the troops collected from the east and the west. Nevertheless, reduced in strength as it was, it could have conquered the multitude of its enemies, as it had already done on the fields of Aboukir and Heliopolis, if it had been properly commanded. Unfortunately, general Bonaparte was no longer at its head. Desaix and Kléber were no more.

We must now describe the state of Egypt since the day on which an assassin's arm levelled to the dust the noble and majestic Kléber, the aspect of whose countenance alone sufficed, on the banks of the Rhine, as on the banks of the Nile, to inspire courage into the hearts of our legions, and made them forget the perils, the privations, and the sorrows of expatriation. We must describe the early prosperous condition of the colony, as well as the sudden and disastrous sequel which ensued. This is imperative; for it is instructive to present to the eyes of a nation the spectacle of its reverses, as well as of its successes, that it may deduce a salutary lesson therefrom. Amid the unparalleled successes of the Consulate, the fruit of an admirable and wise course of conduct, assuredly one single misfortune cannot dim the lustre of the picture, which it is my task to delineate; but a feeling of patriotic duty impels me to inculcate upon our warriors, and upon our generals, still more than upon our soldiers, the painful lesson exhibited during the latter period of our occupation of Egypt. May it cause them to reflect upon their too natural tendency to disunion, especially where there is not a powerful arm to enforce a salutary state of subordination, and to direct against the common enemy the active energy of their minds, and the impetuosity of their passions!

At the time of K[illegible] Egypt was, to all appearance, perfectly submitted [illegible]. After having witnessed the grand vizier's army [illegible] the twinkling of an eye, and the revolt of 300,000 [illegible] of Cairo suppressed, in a few days, by a handful o[illegible] he Egyptians looked upon the French troops as inv[illegible] deemed their settlement on the banks of the Nile, as [illegible] fate. They, besides, became familiarised with thei[illegible] masters, and found that the new yoke was less burde[illegible]nan the old, as they paid less taxes than under the Mamelukes, and did not receive, at the time when the *miri* was collected, a severe bastinado, as when under the dominion of their now dispossessed co-religionists. Mourad Bey, that Mameluke prince, of so gallant and chivalrous a character, who had at length become attached to the French, held Upper Egypt in fief. He proved a faithful vassal, paid his tribute punctually, and administered with prudence the government of the Upper Nile. He was an ally upon whom we could depend. A single brigade of about 2,500 men, stationed in the

environs of Beni-sonef, and always ready to fall back on Cairo, sufficed to hold Upper Egypt; which was a great advantage, considering the very limited number of our effective troops.

Our troops having shared the mistake of their general, at the period of the convention of El-Arisch, and having repaired it with him on the plains of Heliopolis, were still mindful of their error, and not disposed to fall into it again. Conscious that they had to render an account to the Republic of so magnificent a possession, they no longer harboured the thought of evacuating it. Besides, general Bonaparte had now arrived at supreme power; he had explained the reasons of his departure, and was no longer considered as a deserter. Still, conceiving themselves under the care of their old general, they now entertained no sort of anxiety about the future. Thanks, indeed, to the forethought of the First Consul, who had chartered ships in various ports, a week did not pass over, without some vessels, either large or small, arriving at Alexandria; they brought supplies of ammunition, European commodities, newspapers, private correspondence, and the government despatches. In consequence of this frequent intercourse, the parent country was, as it were, present to every one's imagination. Doubtless, emotions of regret quickly took possession of their minds, whenever any peculiar circumstances touched their feelings. On the death of Kléber, for example, when general Menou assumed the command, every one's thoughts again turned towards France. A general of brigade, in presenting his officers to Menou, asked him, if at length, he intended to lead them back to their country. Menou sharply rebuked him, and announced, in an order of the day, his formal resolution to conform to the intention of the government, which was, to keep the color his viever—a decision to which all ranks submitted. Beyond Abou[illegible]n which most prevailed with them was that gen[illegible] side, at tw[illegible]te was in possession of power; and this [illegible]ct forme[illegible]dria, which [illegible]st grounds, with the old veterans of Italy, for confi[illegible]t, after a [illegible]hope.

The troops were punctuall[illegible] [illegible]visions at very low prices. Instead of being pai[illegible]ing made b[illegible] they received payment in money. Bread was [illegible] of Ganteau [illegible]cle which was served out to them. They thus enjo[illegible]ion of the s[illegible]antages of low prices, combined with great abunda[illegible]der to [illegible]tly enjoying the luxury of poultry, instead of butchers [illegible]. They were in great need of cloth; but the climate being warm, they supplied the want of it, for a principal part of their dress, by calico, of which there is abundance in Egypt. For the rest of their dress, they had taken all the cloth brought from the East in the course of trade, of whatever colour it might be. There resulted from this a little diversity in their uniforms; and some regiments, for example, were to be seen dressed in blue, or red, or green; but, at any rate, the men were clothed, and presented a fine, soldier-like appearance. The learned colonel Conte rendered the most

essential service to the army, by the fertility of his inventions. He had brought with him a company of *aérostiers*, the remnant of the *aérostiers* of Fleurus. It was a company of mechanics, of every trade, organised under military discipline. With their assistance, he had erected, at Cairo, machines for weaving, fulling, and carding cloth; and, as there was plenty of wool, they hoped soon to be able completely to supersede the cloths of Europe. It was the same with gunpowder. The mills erected at Cairo, by M. Champy, already produced sufficient for all the wants of the army. The inland trade was increasing visibly. The caravans, now well protected, began to arrive from the centre of Africa. The Arabs of the Red Sea repaired to the ports of Suez and Cosséir, where they exchanged their coffee, perfumes, and dates, for the wheat and rice of Egypt. The Greeks, taking advantage of the Turkish flag, and more alert than the English cruisers, brought to Damietta, Rosetta, and Alexandria, oil, wines, and various commodities. In a word, nothing was wanting for the present, and great resources were in course of preparation for the future. The officers, perceiving that the definitive occupation of Egypt was a thing quite decided upon, made their arrangements to settle themselves down, with as little uncomfortableness as possible. Those who lived at Alexandria or at Cairo—and most of them did so—found there very commodious quarters. Syrian, Greek, and Egyptian women—some purchased of the slave-dealers, and others yielding to a voluntary inclination—came and shared their accommodations. Sorrow was banished. Two engineers had built a theatre at Cairo, in which French pieces were represented by the officers. The soldiers fared no worse than their commanders; and, thanks to the elasticity of the French character, which adapts itself with facility to the manners of all nations, they might be seen smoking and taking coffee, in the society of the Turks and Arabs.

The financial resources of Egypt, well administered, were sufficient to provide for all the wants of the army. Egypt had paid under the Mamelukes, according as the taxes were more or less vigorously exacted, from 36,000,000 francs to 40,000,000 francs (1,440,000*l.* to 1,600,000*l.* sterling) per annum. It did not pay at this period more than 20,000,000 francs to 25,000,000 francs (800,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* sterling), and the collection was not so oppressive. These 20,000,000 francs or 25,000,000 francs covered the expenses of the colony, inasmuch as all the charges together seldom exceeded 1,700,000 francs (68,000*l.* sterling) per month, or 20,400,000 francs (816,000*l.* sterling) per annum. The collection having gradually improved, and having become more regular and lenient, the burdens of the population were alleviated, and the resources of the army materially augmented; an annual surplus of from 3,000,000 francs to 4,000,000 francs (120,000*l.* to 160,000*l.* sterling) might have been calculated

upon, which would have created a little fund, applicable to meet extraordinary exigencies, and to defray the cost of erecting buildings, adapted either for utility or defence. The army still amounted to 25,000, or 26,000, including supernumeraries, and the wives and children of many of the soldiers, and civil servants. In this number there were 23,000 soldiers, 6000 of whom were less effective, but yet fit to defend the fortified posts, leaving 17,000 or 18,000 able-bodied men, capable of the most active service. The cavalry was splendid; it rivalled the Mamelukes in courage, and surpassed them in discipline. The flying artillery executed its evolutions with rapidity, and was well served. The regiment mounted on dromedaries had reached a high state of perfection. It scoured the desert with extraordinary celerity, and had given the Arabs a great distaste for pillage. The average loss from mortality, was but trifling, as only 600 men were on the sick list out of 26,000 individuals. Nevertheless, in the contingency of a protracted war, we should have been short of men; but the Greeks eagerly enlisted, as well as the Copts. The blacks were bought at a very low price, and, remarkable for their fidelity, formed excellent recruits. The army, in time, might have received into its ranks 10,000 or 12,000 faithful and brave soldiers. Confident, even to excess, of its courage and experience in war, they did not doubt but that they would be able to drive into the sea all the Turks, or the English, which might be sent against them from Asia or Europe. It is certain, that under a good commander these 18,000 men, properly concentrated, and bearing down in a body against troops fresh landed, might have remained, despite every hostile effort, masters of the Egyptian shores. But it was requisite that they should be properly commanded; this was indispensable to the success of this army, as of every other.

Let us imagine Kléber, or, who would have been better, Desaix, the prudent, valiant Desaix, left in Egypt, from whence unfortunately the affectionate regard of the First Consul, withdrew him; let us imagine Kléber, escaping from the Mussulman's poniard, administering the government of Egypt during several years! Who can doubt but that he would have converted it into a flourishing colony, and that he would have founded a magnificent empire. In a healthy climate, exempt from even a single fever, a country of an inexhaustible fertility, a submissive peasantry, warmly attached to the soil, voluntary recruits, what vast superiority in these elements over the settlement which we are, at the present day, founding in Africa!

But instead of Kléber, instead of Desaix, it was Menou, who had become commander-in-chief of the army, by right of seniority. This was an irreparable misfortune for the colony, and it was a great mistake on the part the First Consul, not to have appointed a suitable successor. In his uncertainty, as to whether an order from him would reach Egypt in due course,

he was apprehensive lest the decree which nominated a new general, should fall into the hands of the English, who might make use of it, to disorganise the existing authority. They would have given out that Menou was deprived of his command, but would have kept back the order which appointed his successor. The command would, therefore, have been left in abeyance, during a longer or shorter period of time. Nevertheless, this excuse is not sufficient to justify the First Consul, if he were aware of the utter incapacity of Menou, in a military point of view. One reason decided him in favour of this general, and that was his known zeal for the preservation and colonisation of Egypt. Menou, in fact, had warmly opposed the project of evacuation, he had combated the influence of the officers of the Rhine, and had constituted himself, in a word, the leader of the colonial party. He had even pushed his enthusiasm to such a point, as to embrace Mahometanism, and to marry a Turkish woman. He took the name of Abdallah Menou. These eccentricities were a subject of merriment to our soldiers, who are naturally addicted to raillery; but they did not injure the settlement in the eyes of the Egyptians. Menou was a man of intelligence, with a good deal of acquired knowledge, and of indefatigable application to business; a strenuous advocate for colonisation, and possessing all the qualities necessary for the discharge of administrative duties, but was nevertheless wanting in all the qualifications requisite for a general. Devoid of experience, without rapid perception and decision, he was besides, altogether unfortunate in personal appearance. He was corpulent, very short-sighted, and a most ungraceful rider. The appointment of such a chief to the command of soldiers so alert, and so hardy as the French, was most injudicious. Moreover, there was in him a want of firmness of character, so that under his feeble authority, the chiefs of the army differing in opinion, were soon a prey to the most fatal discords.

Under general Bonaparte, there was in Egypt but one mind, but one will. Under Kléber there was, for a brief moment, two parties—the colonists and the anti-colonists—those who wished to remain, and those who wished to return home. But after the affront which the English attempted to offer to our soldiers—an affront gloriously avenged at Heliopolis—after the admitted necessity of remaining, order was completely restored. Under the imposing authority of Kléber, order and union prevailed. But the interval which elapsed between the victory of Heliopolis and the death of Kléber was brief, too brief. No sooner had Menou assumed the command, than union ceased to exist.

General Reynier, an excellent officer on the staff, having served in that capacity in the armies of the Rhine, but cold, without any personal appearance, without ascendency over the

soldiers, enjoyed, nevertheless, the general esteem of every one. He was considered as one of the officers best qualified to figure at the head of an army. After Menou, he was highest in point of seniority. On the very day of Kléber's death, a warm altercation took place between Reynier and Menou, not as to which was entitled to the command, but as to which should assume that responsibility and burden. Neither of them wished to undertake it; and, indeed, on that day, the position of matters was most alarming. They were under the apprehension that the dagger's blow, under which general Kléber had fallen, was the signal for a wide-spread insurrection, organised throughout Egypt by the influence of the Turks and the English. The heavy responsibility of the command, at so critical a juncture, was greatly to be dreaded. Menou yielded, nevertheless, to the entreaties of Reynier, and the other generals, and consented to become the chief of the colony. But they were soon enlightened about their actual situation, by the profound tranquillity which followed the death of Kléber; and the command, at first declined, was subsequently regretted. General Reynier now coveted, that which he had begun by refusing. Under his cold, retiring, and even timid exterior, there lurked excessive vanity. The authority of Menou became insupportable to him. Quiet and submissive up to that time, he became henceforward a murmurer and a caviller. He found fault with every thing. Menou had accepted the command at the pressing solicitations of his companions in arms, and had assumed the title of "Commander-in-chief *ad interim*." Reynier carped at the title adopted by Menou. At Kléber's funeral, Menou had assigned the four corners of the coffin to the generals of divisions, and followed behind, at the head of the staff. Reynier discovered in this, that he had aped the viceroy. Menou had appointed the illustrious Fourier to pronounce the eulogy over the grave of Kléber; Reynier pretended that it was a slight upon Kléber's memory, to have the panegyric pronounced by any one but the general-in-chief. Some delay in the subscription opened to erect a monument to Kléber, difficulties in the administration of his property, very slender, indeed, like that of most of our noble warriors at that period—these, and other puerilities were interpreted by Reynier, and by those who followed his example, in the most vexatious manner. We repeat these wretched tales, which would be unworthy of history, if their very insignificance were not instructive, by showing to what paltry shifts groundless discontent will sometimes stoop. Reynier, then, became an insubordinate, silly, and culpable lieutenant. He was joined by general Dumas, a friend of Kléber, chief of the general staff, who harboured in his breast all the jealousy of the army of the Rhine, against the army of Italy. The spirit of opposition then had its seat in the very staff itself. Menou would not permit

this so near to him, and resolved to deprive general Dumas of the post which he had occupied under Kléber.

The malecontents, thus disconcerted, endeavoured to parry off this blow, by deputing the prudent and brave general Friant to confer with Menou; the former, exclusively absorbed in his duties, only interfered in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. Menou, more firm than usual, would not give way, and appointed general Lagrange in the room of general Dumas. Thenceforth, coming less in contact with his enemies, he was less exposed to their annoyances: this, however, added fresh virulence to their irritation, and the disunion amongst the chiefs of the army only became the more scandalous, and the more alarming. Reflecting men lamented the shock which might be thus given to the ruling authority, a lamentable shock in any place, but still more so where the danger is imminent, and the supreme power at a distance.

Menou, a bad general, but an indefatigable administrator, laboured night and day at what he called the organisation of the colony. Some of his measures were judicious, others decidedly bad; but where he principally erred, was in attempting too much. He first set about bringing up the arrears of pay, by employing for this purpose the contribution of 10,000,000frs. imposed by Kléber upon the Egyptian cities, as a punishment for the last revolt. It was one way of maintaining peace and subordination in the army; for, at the period of the convention of El-Arisch, a tendency to insubordination had been perceptible, caused chiefly by the pay being somewhat in arrears. Menou accordingly regarded the regular payment of what was due to the soldiers, as a sure guarantee of order and discipline amongst them, and he was in the right. But he adopted the indiscreet course, of discharging the pa r of the soldiers, prior to the liquidation of any other demands, without reflecting upon those unavoidable emergencies which inevitably arise during war. He directed his attention to the preparation of the bread for the troops, the quality of which he much imp oved. He organised hospitals, and applied himself carefully to the introduction of order in the public accounts. Menou was a man of the most sterling integrity, but rather inclined to declamation. He expatiated so often, in his orders of the day, on his intention of re-establishing strict honesty in the army, that he wounded the feelings of all the generals. These latter asked him with bitterness, if nothing but pilfering and robbery had prevailed before the government of Menou, and if integrity dated its introduction amongst them from the period when he assumed the command? In fact, it was true, that few malversations had been committed since the occupation of Egypt. Our army had captured a considerable prize after the violation of the convention of El-Arisch, in the port of Alexandria, consisting of some of the numerous vessels which came, under the Turkish flag, to transport the

army to France, and which were almost all laden with merchandise. A commission was appointed to sell it on account of the colonial treasury. Menou appeared dissatisfied with the proceedings of this commission, and with general Lanusse who had the command in Alexandria; he recalled the latter, in such a manner as reflected upon his character, and appointed general Friant in his room. General Lanusse was deeply exasperated at this, and, on his return to Cairo, increased the number of the disaffected. Menou went still further, he tried to alter the system of contributions, and in this respect committed some very serious errors. Doubtless, at a later period, a reform in the finances of Egypt would have been practicable. By means of an equitable distribution of the land revenue, and by means of some taxes judiciously levied upon articles of consumption, which could occasion no dispute in the mode of levying them, it would have been easy to relieve the Egyptian people, and to increase considerably the income of the public treasury. But at the moment, exposed as they were to attacks from without, it was not quite expedient to create further difficulties within the colony, and to make the people suffer from vexatious charges, the full benefit of which they were unable at first to appreciate. The collection of the old taxes, with a greater degree of regularity and justice, was quite sufficient to establish, between the Mamelukes and the French, a comparison extremely favourable to the latter, and to augment considerably the fund applicable to the army. Menou conceived the idea of a general assessment of property, a new system for the levying of the land tax, and above all, the exclusion of the Copts, who in Egypt farmed the revenue, and performed almost the same services as the Jews in the north of Europe. These projects, very prudent for a future period, were exceedingly inexpedient at the moment. Menou, fortunately, had not time to put all his plans into execution; but he did carry into effect that of imposing new contributions. The sheiks, *El-Beled*, municipal magistrates of Egypt, were, at certain periods, publicly invested with the municipal authority, and received, on these occasions, as presents, either pelisses of honour or shawls, from the investing governors. They made a suitable return for these gifts by presents of horses, camels, and cattle. The Mamelukes renewed this ceremony as often as possible, on account of the profit which they derived from it. Some of them even had commuted it into a money payment. Menou conceived the idea of making this measure general, and of rendering it applicable to the whole of Egypt. He imposed upon the sheiks, *El-Beled*, a tax which might amount to 2,500,000 frs. (100,000*l.* sterling). They were certainly rich enough to bear it, and even to some amongst them, this regular impost was a relaxation of taxation. But they possessed a great influence among the 2500 villages placed under their authority, and we ran the risk of turning public opinion against us when we attempted to en-

force an absolute, uniform tax, without any compensation, and which, moreover, involved with it the suppression of a custom which had a very useful moral tendency. Menou, possessed with the notion of assimilating Egypt to France, which he called civilising it, conceived also a system of *octrois* (town dues). Egypt had its taxes on articles of consumption, which were collected in the *okels*, a sort of warehouses in the East, wherein is deposited every species of merchandise, in course of transit from one place to another. This mode of collection was simple and easy. Menou wished to convert it into a tax, to be levied at the gates of the cities, which are very few in number in Egypt. In addition to the disturbance which this occasioned in the general habits of the people, the immediate effect was, to raise the prices of provisions in the garrisons, to throw a considerable portion of this increase of price upon the soldiery, and thus to excite fresh murmurs. Finally, Menou determined upon levying contributions on the rich merchants who escaped the payment of the public taxes, that is to say, on the Copts, the Greeks, the Jews, the Damascenes, and the Franks, &c. He imposed on them a capitation or poll tax of 2,500,000 frs. (100,000*l.* sterling). The burden would not have been too onerous certainly, at all events for the Copts, who were enriched by the farming of the revenue. But the latter had been great sufferers by the revolt of Cairo; they were, moreover, useful, as it was to their purse that it was necessary to have recourse, when a sum of money, by way of loan, was required. It was, therefore, any thing but prudent to alienate their feelings, or those of the Greek and European merchants, who, considerably resembling us in manners, usages, and intelligence, ought to have been the natural medium of intercourse between ourselves and the Egyptians. Finally, Menou levied a legacy duty, the provisions of which he wished even to extend to the army, which became a fresh subject of complaint for the disaffected.

This mania for assimilating a colony to the parent country, with the notion that, in coming in collision with their prejudices, he was civilising it, took full possession of Menou, who, like all colonisers with confined views, are generally more anxious to see things progressing fast, than proceeding well. To complete his work, Menou established a private council, not composed of five or six military chiefs, but of about fifty civil and military officers, selected from all ranks. It was, in fact, a parliament, which ridicule alone prevented from meeting. He even established an Arabic journal for the purpose of promulgating officially to the Egyptians, and to the army, the acts of the French authorities.

In the meantime, the soldiers paid but little attention to these innovations. They lived well, laughed at Menou, but were pleased with his good nature and general solicitude for their welfare. The inhabitants were submissive, and found, after all, the yoke of the French far less onerous than that of

the Mamelukes. But there were others infinitely more irritable, and these were the malecontents in the army. It was only by absolutely doing nothing, and avoiding every act which could expose him to their rankling venom, that Menou could have escaped censure, and even then his inaction would have been made a subject of animadversion. But Menou was too full of all his schemes of organisation, not to furnish full scope for their censoriousness. They took advantage of these, and proceeded to such lengths as even to plan the deposition of their commander-in-chief,—an act of madness which would have convulsed the colony, and would have converted the army of Egypt into a prætorian band. The officers in several regiments were sounded upon the subject, but they were found so well disposed, so little inclined to revolt, that the idea was relinquished. Reynier and Dumas had brought over Lanusse to their faction, and, united, they gained over Belliard and Verdier; thus, with the exception of general Friant, all the generals of divisions soon became parties to this fatal opposition. Two old members of the convention, whom general Bonaparte had carried to Egypt, merely for the sake of giving them employment, Tallien and Isnard, were at Cairo, and, relapsing into their former habits, became the most violent of the agitators. The deposition of the commander-in-chief, being found impracticable, these generals conceived instead, the project of waiting upon Menou in a body, to state their objections to some of his measures, which were doubtless very censurable. They accordingly repaired to him, without giving any notice, and surprised Menou by their unexpected appearance. They detailed to him all their complaints, to which he listened with marks of great displeasure, but not without exhibiting a certain degree of dignity. He promised to consider some of their remarks, and was weak enough not to reprimand at once the gross impropriety of their conduct. This proceeding gave great scandal in the army, and was severely blamed. The issue was, that Isnard and Tallien suffered for all, and were shipped off to Europe.

At this juncture the order of the First Consul arrived, which confirmed Menou in his post, and invested him with the authority of commander-in-chief in a definitive manner. This expression of the supreme will came very opportunely, and had the effect of recalling a part of the disaffected to their duty. Unhappily fresh contentions arose, and matters soon relapsed into their former state.

It was in petty disputes that these discontented minds, soured by exile, their dissensions encouraged by the imbecility of their commander, employed the time which had elapsed since the battle of Heliopolis up to the present moment, that is to say, an entire year: precious moments, which ought to have been employed in living united, and in making preparations by union to repel the formidable enemy about to land in Egypt.

The waters of the Nile were falling, and resuming their natural bed; the lately inundated parts of the country were beginning to dry. The period for landing was arrived. The month of February, 1801 (Ventôse, year IX.), was fast approaching. The English and the Turks were preparing to make new attacks upon the colony. The grand vizier, the same whom Kléber had beaten at Heliopolis, was at Gaza, between Palestine and Egypt, not having dared to make his appearance at Constantinople, since his defeat; having only 10,000 to 12,000 men left in his army, which had been eaten up by the plague, and obliged every day to fight with the mountaineers of Palestine, who had risen against such visiters. That enemy was not to be feared for a long time to come. The capitan Pacha, the enemy of the vizier, a favourite of the sultan, was cruising with some vessels, between Syria and Egypt. He was desirous of renewing the convention of El-Arisch, hoping but little to reconquer Egypt by force of arms, and greatly distrusting the English, whom he strongly suspected of wishing to wrest this fine country from the hands of the French, only in order to retain it themselves. In short, 18,000 men, concentrated at Macri, in Asia Minor, some of them English, others Hessians, Swiss, Maltese, or Neapolitans, commanded exclusively by English officers, and under excellent discipline, were about to be embarked on board Lord Keith's squadron, and landed in Egypt, under the orders of an able and distinguished general, sir Ralph Abercromby.

To these 18,000 European soldiers were to be added 6000 Albanians, whom the capitan Pacha was transporting at this moment on board his squadron; 6000 sepoys, coming from India by way of the Red Sea, and about 20,000 indifferent troops from the east, ready to join the 10,000 men under the grand vizier in Palestine. Thus there were about 60,000 soldiers whom the army of Egypt was likely to have to deal with. To oppose them, we had but 18,000 fighting men. Nevertheless, these were enough, and even more than sufficient, if the direction of them had been placed in judicious hands.

First, there was no danger of being surprised, for advices arrived from all parts, from the Archipelago, by means of Greek vessels, as well as from Upper Egypt, through Mourad Bey, and even from Europe itself, by means of the unintermitting advices of the First Consul. All these notices intimated distinctly the near approach of an expeditionary army, composed both of Orientals and Europeans. Menou, deaf to the warnings which reached him, in this critical moment did nothing which he ought to have done, and neglected what was clearly indispensable in the actual state of things.

Good policy would have at once dictated the prudence of sedulously keeping on good terms with Mourad Bey, by treating him becomingly, inasmuch as he commanded Upper Egypt, and, moreover, preferred the French to the Turks or the English.

Menou neglected this precaution, and replied to the information sent by Mourad Bey, in such a manner as to alienate him from us, had that been possible. Good policy would further have prompted Menou to take advantage of the distrust entertained by the Turks of the English, and, without a repetition of the disgraceful convention of El-Arisch, to retard their operations by a pretended negotiation, which, by engaging their attention, would have paralysed their efforts. This expedient, or, indeed, any other, never entered into the imagination of Menou.

With regard to the administrative and military measures, which the urgency of the case required, he was totally incompetent to devise any suitable to the occasion. The first thing requisite was to collect at Rosetta, at Damietta, at Ramanieh, at Cairo, and at every point where the army might have to assemble, a large stock of war supplies, which is always practicable in a country so abundant as Egypt. Menou refused to do this, declining to divert the funds from their application to the pay of the troops, which he had promised to discharge punctually to the day—a point which the difficulty of collecting the new taxes only just enabled him to accomplish at this moment. The cavalry and artillery ought to have been remounted, as they form the most efficacious means of opposing a landing army, which is usually destitute of these two branches of the service. He refused to do this, for the same financial reasons. He carried his want of foresight to such a point, as to select this moment to cut the artillery horses, which were stallions, their mettle rendering them very troublesome in harness. Lastly, Menou opposed the concentration of the troops, which the health of the soldiers rendered desirable at this season, even if no danger had threatened Egypt. Indeed, some cases of plague had already occurred. To encamp the troops, and withdraw them from the cities, was urgently necessary, independently of the propriety of keeping them more disposable for an emergency. The army, scattered over the garrisons, or uselessly collected in a body at Cairo, or employed in the collection of the *miri*, was nowhere in a position to act efficaciously. Nevertheless, by an able distribution of the 23,000 men remaining, of which number 17,000 or 18,000 were capable of active service, Menou had quite sufficient force for the defence of Egypt at every point. He might be attacked by way of Alexandria, on account of the roads of Aboukir, situated in the neighbourhood, and always preferred as a place of landing; by way of Damietta, another point fit for effecting a landing, although far less favourable than that of Aboukir; or, thirdly, by way of the Syrian frontiers, where the vizier was stationed with the wreck of his army. Of these three points, there was only one seriously menaced, which was Alexandria, and the roadstead at Aboukir—a thing easy to be foreseen, as every body was of that opinion, and it was openly

spoken of, throughout the whole army. The beach at Damietta, on the contrary, was of difficult access, and was connected by so few points with the Delta, that the invading army, even had it effected a landing, could have been easily surrounded, and soon compelled to re-embark. It was not, then, very probable that the English would approach by way of Damietta. On the side of Syria, the vizier could inspire but little apprehension. He was too weak, and was smarting too deeply under the recollection of Heliopolis, to venture to take the initiative. He would only venture to advance, after the English had succeeded in effecting a landing. In any case, it was not imprudent to let him advance, as the nearer he advanced towards us, the more he compromised himself. The paramount subject for the consideration of the general-in-chief ought, therefore, to have been the English army, the landing of which was announced shortly to take place. In this posture of affairs, a strong division ought to have been left around Alexandria, that is to say, 4000 or 8000 active troops, independently of the sailors, and the depôts keeping guard in the garrisons. Two thousand would have sufficed at Damietta. The regiment of Dromedaries would have been enough to keep guard on the frontiers of Syria. A garrison of 3000 men at Cairo, which would have been joined by the 2000 men stationed in Upper Egypt, and reinforced by some thousand French troops in the depôts, would have sufficed, and more than sufficed, to keep in check the population of the capital, if even the vizier had appeared before its walls. These various duties absorbed 11,000 or 12,000 men, out of the 17,000 or 18,000 effective troops. There remained a reserve of 6000 chosen men, which ought to have formed a large camp, exactly intermediate between Alexandria and Damietta. There was a spot which combined all the requisites for such a purpose; that was Ramanieh, a healthy station, on the banks of the Nile, not far from the sea, capable of being easily provisioned, situated at one day's journey from Alexandria, two days' from Damietta, and three or four from the frontiers of Syria. If Menou had established at Ramanieh his reserve of 6000 men, he might, at the first notice, have transported it, in twenty-four hours to Alexandria, in forty-eight hours to Damietta, and even, if it had been necessary, in three or four days to the frontiers of Syria. Such a force would have rendered powerless all the attempts of the enemy.

Menou did not think of any of these means, and not only did not think of them, but rejected the advice of all those who were anxious to press them upon his consideration. Good advice reached him from all sides, and especially from the generals who were opposed to him. The latter—we must do them this justice, and amongst them Reynier, more conversant than the others with great military tactics—made known to him the danger, and pointed out the measures which ought to have been taken; but they had lost all influence over the commander-in-chief by

reason of their intemperate opposition, and now that they were in the right, they were not more listened to than when they were in the wrong.

The gallant Friant, a stranger to these fatal discords, was zealously engaged in getting Alexandria into a state of defence. He had organised the sailors, and the troops in the depôts, with the view of intrusting them with the guard of the forts; but this being provided for, he had scarcely more than 2000 effective men, that he could collect upon the spot where the debarkation might take place. It was also necessary to employ part of these to guard the principal points of the coast, such as the fort of Aboukir, the forts of the Maison-Carrée, the Edko, and Rosetta. After placing garrisons at these posts, he had about 1200 men left. Fortunately, the frigate, the *Régénérée*, had brought from Rochefort, a reinforcement of 300 men, with a considerable supply of military stores. Thanks to this unexpected event, the available force of general Friant amounted to 1500 men. It may easily be conceived what assistance at this moment the squadron of general Ganteaume would have been, if, relying a little more upon fortune, that admiral had landed thus opportunely, the 4000 picked men who were on board his fleet.

General Friant, although his force was thus insufficient, only applied for two battalions more, and a regiment of cavalry. In point of fact, this force would have been sufficient, but it was foolhardy in such a conjuncture to trust to a reinforcement of only 1000 men. It is too true that the self-confidence of the army contributed very much to its defeat. Our troops had formed the habit of fighting in Egypt one against four, sometimes one against eight, and they had not formed a correct notion of the tactics of the English when effecting a landing. They thought that they could only land about 100 men at a time, without artillery and without cavalry; they thought, too, that the English could not withstand a charge of the bayonet. This was a fatal illusion. Nevertheless, the re-inforcement solicited by Friant, inconsiderable as it was, would have saved the colony: the subsequent events will establish this.

On the 28th of February, 1801 (9th Ventôse, year IX.), an English pinnace was descried not far from Alexandria, which seemed to be making a reconnoissance. Some boats were dispatched in pursuit of her, and captured her, with the officers on board, who were commissioned to make the arrangements for the landing. The papers found upon them left no longer any doubt. Immediately afterwards, the English fleet, consisting of seventy sail, hove in sight, off Alexandria, but stress of weather obliged them to stand again out to sea. Fortune left us yet another chance of saving Egypt from the hands of the English; for it was thus very improbable that any landing could be attempted

by them for several days to come. The above intelligence, transmitted by Friant to Cairo, reached that place on the 4th of March (13th Ventôse) in the afternoon. If Menou had, without loss of time, come to a prompt and rational decision, every thing might have been repaired. If he had ordered the entire army to fall back towards Alexandria, the cavalry would have reached that place in four days, the infantry in five, and thus, on the 8th or the 9th of March (17th or 18th Ventôse), from 10,000 to 12,000 men might have been assembled on the sands of Aboukir. It was possible, that by this time the English would have already disembarked their troops, but it would have been quite impossible for them to have got their artillery, ammunition, and stores on shore, or to have strengthened their position, and our troops would have arrived quite in sufficient time to have driven them into the sea. Reynier, who was at Cairo, wrote to Menou, on that very day, a letter couched in most convincing language. He advised him to disregard the vizier, who would not take the initiative in offensive operations, and also Damietta, which did not seem to be the point in danger, but to cover Alexandria, with the whole strength of his forces. Nothing could be more correct. Happen what might, he risked nothing by marching towards Ramanieh, for on his arrival at that place, if he ascertained that the danger was at Damietta, or Syria, he could, with ease, direct his steps to either one or other of these two points. Not a day would thus have been lost, and he would be so much nearer to Alexandria, where the real danger threatened. But it was indispensable to decide at once, instantly; and to set out on that very night. Menou turned a deaf ear to this, and became peremptory in his orders; whilst at the same time, he was wholly unsettled in his own notions how to act. Not being able to distinguish clearly the point really menaced, he dispatched a reinforcement to general Rampon at Damietta. He directed Reynier, with his division, towards Balbeïs, to oppose the vizier on the coast of Syria. He sent forward the division of Lanusse, towards Ramanieh; yet he did not send the whole, as he kept back the 88th demi-brigade at Cairo. He only dispatched at the moment the 17th chasseurs. General Lanusse had orders to proceed to Ramanieh, and according to the intelligence he might receive at that point, was to decide upon the expediency of advancing upon Alexandria. Menou remained in person at Cairo, with a large portion of his forces, awaiting further news in this position, so far distant from the sea-coast. Incapacity could not be carried to a greater extreme.

During this time, events succeeded each other with rapidity. The English fleet consisted of seven line-of-battle ships, a great number of frigates, brigs, and large ships belonging to the East India Company, in all seventy sail. There was on board an immense number of landing craft. As we said elsewhere, lord Keith commanded the naval forces; sir Ralph Abercromby the

troops. The spot which they fixed upon for the landing, was that which they had before chosen, that is to say, the roads of Aboukir. It was there, that our squadron had anchored in 1798; it was there, that it was discovered and destroyed by Nelson; it was there, that the Turkish squadron had landed the brave janissaries, driven into the sea by general Bonaparte, at the glorious victory of Aboukir. The English fleet, after having been obliged to keep out at sea for several days—a fatal delay for them, but which might have proved most fortunate for ourselves, if Menou had known how to profit by it, at length brought up in Aboukir roads on the 6th of March (15th Ventôse), at five leagues distance from Alexandria.

Lower Egypt, like Holland and Venice, is a country of swamps. It presents, like all countries of that description, peculiar features, which must be studied with attention, if we wish to have a clear idea of the military operations of which it may become the theatre. At the points where all the great rivers flow into the sea, sand-banks are formed in every direction round the estuary. These banks arise from the sands which are washed down by the river, and which, afterwards thrown back by the reflux of the tide, gradually settle and accumulate, under the action of these two opposing forces. They stretch out in a direction parallel to the shore, and form those bars so dreaded by mariners, always so difficult to pass in entering or leaving these rivers. They rise imperceptibly to the level of the water, then, in progress of time, above it, and exhibit the appearance of a long bank of sand, beaten against continually, from seawards, by the waves of the ocean, whilst the inland waters, from the rivers, whose current they impede, bathe them perpetually from the side of the land. The Nile, in flowing into the Mediterranean, has, before its numerous mouths, a vast semi-circle of these sand-banks. This semi-circle, which stretches out to an extent of at least seventy leagues, from Alexandria to Pelusium, is intersected near to Rosetta, Bourlôz, Damietta, and Pelusium, by some channels through which the Nile forces its way towards the sea. Bathed on one side by the Mediterranean, it is watered on the other by the Lakes Maréotis, Maadié, by Lake Edko, and by the Lakes Bourloz and Menzaleh. Every landing in Egypt must necessarily be effected upon one of these sand-banks. Guided by precedent and necessity, the English selected that which forms the bank, or plain of Alexandria. This bank, about fifteen leagues in length, extends between the Mediterranean on one side, and the Lakes Mareotis and Maadié on the other; it has Alexandria built upon one of its extremities, and presents the form of a semi-circular sweep, which terminates in Rosetta. It is this sweep or bay which forms the roads of Aboukir. One of the extremities of this roadstead was defended by the fort of Aboukir, constructed by the French, its fire commanding the surrounding sands. A

succession of sand-hills skirts the whole shore, vanishing in the receding distance, on the other side of the roads, into a sandy, level plain. General Bonaparte had given orders for a fort to be built on these sand-hills. If his orders had been obeyed, all attempts at landing would have been completely frustrated.

It was in the middle of this roadstead, that the English vessels came to an anchor, ranged in two lines. They waited at anchor until the swell subsided, and permitted their boats to be launched. At length, on the 8th, in the morning (17th Ventôse), the weather being more moderate, lord Keith distributed 5000 picked men into 320 boats. These boats, arranged in two rows, under the direction of Captain Cochrane, advanced towards the shore, having, on each of their wings, a division of gun-boats. These gun-boats exchanged, with the guns on shore, a most severe cannonade.

General Friant, who had repaired to the spot, had formed his men at a short distance from the landing-place, in order to keep them sheltered from the fire of the English. He had posted a detachment of the 25th demi-brigade, with some pieces of cannon, between the fort of Aboukir, and the ground he occupied. On his left, he had stationed the 75th, two battalions strong, concealed by the sand-hills; in the centre, two squadrons of cavalry, one the 18th, and the other the 20th dragoons; lastly, on his right, the 61st demi-brigade, likewise two battalions strong, with orders to defend the lower part of the beach. His entire force was not more than 1500 men strong. Some advanced posts occupied the landing-place, and the French artillery, placed at the salient points on the land, swept the plain with their fire.

The English pulled towards the shore, the soldiers lying down in the bottoms of the boats; the sailors standing up, plying their oars with vigour, and sustaining the fire of the guns with unshaken coolness. Some of the sailors were struck down, but their places were instantly supplied by others. The whole mass, moved by one impulse, approached the shore. At length, the boats reached the beach, and the English soldiers started up from the bottoms of the boats, and sprung ashore. They formed, and rushed up the sandy slant which borders the whole roadstead. General Friant, apprised by his outposts, which fell back, came up himself to the scene of action rather too late. Nevertheless, he directed the 75th to the left, against the sand-hills, and the 61st to the right, towards the lower part of the shore. This latter regiment rushed down upon the English with impetuosity, charging them with fixed bayonets; and the latter were thus left on this side without support. The regiment pressed them vigorously, drove them into their boats, and even got into the boats with them. The grenadiers of this demi-brigade seized upon twelve of the boats, and made use of them to pour a deadly fire upon the enemy. The 75th, which receiving their orders too late, had thus given the English time

to seize upon the position on the left, now advanced precipitately to dislodge them. Exposed by this movement, to the fire of the gunboats, it received a terrific discharge of grape-shot, which, at the first volley, killed thirty-two men, and wounded twenty. It encountered, also, at the same instant, the dreadful fire of the English infantry. This gallant demi-brigade, for a moment surprised, and not fighting, moreover, upon firm ground, advanced to the attack in some confusion. General Friant, desirous to support it, ordered a charge of cavalry upon the English centre, which was now deploying on the plain, having overcome the first obstacles. The commander of the 18th dragoons, who had been sent for several times to receive orders from the general, now came up, after having kept his men waiting. General Friant, in the midst of a shower of balls, pointed out to him the precise point where to make the attack. This officer, unfortunately infirm of purpose, did not advance direct against the enemy, but lost time in making a détour, made a very indifferent charge, and sacrificed the lives of many men and horses, without producing any effect upon the English, and without relieving the 75th, which was furiously attempting to repossess themselves of the sandy heights on the left. There still remained the 20th; a brave officer, named Boussart, who commanded it, charged at the head of his dragoons, and overthrew every thing which stood in his way. At this moment the 61st, which, towards the right, had remained masters of the shore, without, however, being able, alone, to overpower the mass of the enemy, collected fresh energy, followed up close to the 20th dragoons, pushed the left of the English upon their centre, and soon forced them to re-embark. The 75th, on its side, under a tremendous fire, fought with redoubled energy. If, at this instant, general Friant had had the two battalions of infantry, and the regiment of cavalry, for which he had so many times applied, it would have been all over with the English, who would have been driven into the sea. But a body of 1200 picked men, consisting of Swedes and Irish, turned the sand-hills, and took the 75th in flank. The latter was thus again compelled to give way. It retired, leaving the 61st on our right, bent fiercely upon gaining the day, but endangered by its over-excess of courage.

General Friant, perceiving that the 75th was obliged to fall back, and that the 61st might be surrounded, then ordered a retreat, which was effected in good order. The grenadiers of the 61st, flushed with success, and with the excitement of the carnage, reluctantly obeyed the orders of the general, and, in retiring, kept the English in check by their vigorous charges.

This unfortunate battle of the 8th of March (17th Ventôse), decided the fate of Egypt. The brave general Friant had, perhaps, chosen his first position a little too far from the shore; perhaps, also, he had relied too much upon the superiority of

his soldiers, and he had imagined, too lightly, that the English could not land but a small number of troops at a time. But this confidence was very excusable, and, after all, justified; for, if he had had only one or two battalions more, the English would have been repulsed, and Egypt would have been saved. But what can be said in extenuation of the commander-in-chief, who, warned of his danger two months before, through various channels, had neglected to concentrate his forces at Ramanieh, which would have enabled him to collect 10,000 men before Aboukir, on that decisive day?—who, advised again on the 4th of March, by the most positive intelligence which reached Cairo on that day, did not send forward any troops, although they might have arrived on the morning of the 8th, and accordingly would have been there in time to repel the English? What can be said of admiral Ganteaume, who might have landed 4000 men in Alexandria, on the same day that the *Régénérée* brought 300 men, who, in fact, fought on the plains of Aboukir? What can be said of so many acts of timidity, negligence, and errors of all kinds, unless it be that there are some days when every thing unites to cause the loss of battles, or the downfal of empires?

The fighting had been murderous on both sides. The English computed their loss at 1100 men, killed and wounded, out of the 5000 who had landed. We had about 400, put *hors de combat*, out of 1500 who were in the field. Our troops, then, had fought well. General Friant retired under the walls of Alexandria, and immediately sent off news, both to Menou and to the generals stationed near him, urging them to hasten up to his assistance.

Nevertheless, every thing might have been retrieved, if the time which still remained had been properly employed to bring up the forces left undisposed of, and advantage had been taken of the difficulties which the English were about to encounter, now that they had landed upon the sandy plain.

In the first place, they had to disembark the main body of their army, then to get on shore their guns, ammunition, and baggage, which would require some time. They had to advance along the sand-bank to arrive at Alexandria, with the sea on their right, the Lakes Maadié and Maréotis on their left, supported, it is true, by their gun-boats, but without any cavalry, and without any other field-pieces than those which the men could drag along. It was evident that these operations must be slow, and exceedingly difficult when they reached Alexandria, as to get out of that defile, they would be reduced either to take that city, or to proceed on the narrow spits of land which communicate with the interior of Egypt. If we wished to succeed in checking their advance, we ought to have avoided engaging in these partial and unequal actions, which only inspired them with confidence, and reduced our forces, already far too scanty in number. Even without fighting, we were sure, if we selected

a good position, to completely obstruct their passage. There was, therefore, but one sensible course to be pursued, and that was, to wait till Menou, who was now awakened to the full danger of his position, had concentrated his entire forces under the walls of Alexandria.

But general Lanusse had been sent with his division to Ramanieh. Having there become acquainted with what had taken place at Aboukir, he pressed his march towards Alexandria. He brought about 3000 men; Friant had lost 400 out of the 1500 in the battle of the 8th of March; but having drawn in all his outposts, spread between Rosetta and Alexandria, he had still 1700 or 1800 men. The forts of Alexandria were guarded by the seamen and soldiers of the depôts. With the division of Lanusse, who was coming up, they could muster together nearly 5000 troops. The English had landed 16,000, exclusive of 2000 seamen. It would have been prudent not to have engaged in a second battle; but an accidental circumstance hurried these two generals into action.

The long sand-bank, upon which the English had landed, is separated by the Lakes Maadié and Maréotis from the inland parts of Egypt, with which it was only connected by a long spit of land, passing between the two lakes, and terminating at Ramanieh. Upon this spit the canal runs which conveys the fresh water of the Nile, down to Alexandria; this spit also forms the high road leading from Alexandria to Ramanieh. At this moment it was in danger of being occupied by the English, as they were near attaining the point where it joins the sand-bank upon which Alexandria stands. The English were occupied during the 9th, 10th, and 11th of March (18th, 19th, and 20th Ventôse), in landing and organising their forces. On the 12th, they commenced their movement in advance, marching laboriously in the sands, the artillery being dragged by the sailors of the squadron, and supported on the right and on the left by their gun-boats. On the night of the 12th they were within a short distance of the spot where the spit of land joins the site upon which Alexandria is built.

The generals Friant and Lanusse thought it dangerous to allow the English to possess themselves of this point, and abandon to them the road to Ramanieh, by which Menou must arrive. Nevertheless, supposing this road in their possession, there was still another, a long one, it is true, exceedingly difficult for the artillery; this was the bed of the Lake Maréotis itself. This lake, more or less inundated, according to the rise of the Nile, and the season of the year, left uncovered a marshy ground, upon which an army might pick a sinuous way. Consequently, they had no good reason for offering battle, when there were so many chances against them.

Nevertheless, generals Friant and Lanusse, exaggerating the danger to which their communications were exposed, determined

upon giving battle. There was one mode of materially diminishing the danger they incurred by committing this blunder, namely, by remaining on the heights, which obstructed the entire width of the sand-bank upon which the battle was fought, heights which abutted close upon the very head of the spit of land. By remaining in this position, and by employing effectually the artillery, with which they were much better provided than the English, they had the advantage of acting on the defensive; they might thus have compensated for their inferiority in numbers, and probably would have succeeded in keeping possession of this point, for the preservation of which, a second, and much to be regretted battle was about to be fought.

It was accordingly so concerted, between generals Friant and Lanusse. The latter was an officer of good natural parts, and of great intrepidity and courage. Unhappily, he was but little disposed to listen to the dictates of prudence. Mixed up, moreover, in the dissensions existing in the army, he would have exulted in gaining a battle before Menou could come up.

On the morning of the 13th of March (22nd Ventôse), the English made their appearance: They were divided into three bodies; the one which marched on the left, kept close to the margin of the lake Maadié, threatening the head of the spit of land, and was covered by the gunboats; the middle body advanced in the form of a square, having battalions in close columns on its flanks, in order to resist the French cavalry, which the English greatly dreaded; the third, which formed the right, skirted along the sea, supported like the first by gunboats.

The body destined to seize upon the head of the spit, was in advance of the two others. Lanusse, perceiving the left wing of the English venturing alone along the margin of the lake, could no longer resist the temptation of falling upon it. He committed the error of descending from the heights to attack it. But at the same instant the formidable square in the centre, which had hitherto been concealed by the sand-hills, appeared suddenly on this side. Lanusse then, compelled to deviate from his first object, marched directly against this square, which was preceded at some distance, by an advanced line of infantry. He ordered forwards the 22nd chasseurs, which charged this line of infantry at a gallop, cut it in two, and made two battalions lay down their arms. The 4th light horse coming up to the support of the 22nd, completed this first success. Whilst this was going on, the square, which had now arrived within musket shot, commenced those volleys of musketry, so well kept up, from which our army had already suffered so much on the day the enemy landed at Aboukir. The 18th light now came up, but was received with murderous discharges, which threw disorder into its ranks. At this moment the right body of the English was seen advancing, leaving the sea-shore, in order to come up to the support of the centre. Lanusse then, who had only the 69th to

support the 18th, ordered a retreat, fearing to engage in a too unequal conflict. Friant, on his side, astonished to see Lanusse descend into the plain, had followed to support him, and pushed on to the head of the dyke, against the left of the English. He was exposed for a very considerable time to an extremely sharp fire, which was met by one equally quick and effective, until he perceived the retreat of his colleague. He then fell back in his turn, to avoid being left single-handed to contend with the English. They both, after this short engagement, regained their position, which they had done wrong in quitting.

It was, after all, a mere reconnoissance, but a very superfluous one, since the army ought to have been spared, and in this skirmish a fresh loss ensued, of from 500 to 600 men; a loss very much to be deplored, as we had not, like the English, the means of reinforcement, and as we were reduced to the necessity of fighting with a force not exceeding 5000 or 6000 strong. If the losses of the English could have compensated for ours, they were severe enough to satisfy us. They had, indeed, incurred a loss of 1300 to 1400 men, killed and wounded.

It was now determined to await the arrival of Menou, who had at length decided upon directing his army upon Alexandria. He had ordered general Rampon to quit Damietta, and repair to Ramanieh, and he brought with him the main body of his troops. Nevertheless, there still remained in the province of Damietta, in the environs of Belbeïs, and Salahié, in Cairo itself, and in Upper Egypt, some troops which were not so useful at the places where they were left as they would have been at Alexandria. If Menou had caused Upper Egypt to be evacuated, confiding it to Mourad Bey, and had left the city of Cairo, but little inclined to insurrection, under the charge of the soldiers in depôt, he would have had 2000 men additional, with which to face the enemy. Such an accession of strength was certainly not to be despised, as our paramount object was to vanquish the English. The Egyptians at that moment having no thought of revolting, did not require the precautions which were taken against them. They were only to be dreaded in the event of the French being decidedly worsted.

Menou, having reached Ramanieh, there discovered the whole extent of the danger. General Friant had sent forward two regiments of cavalry to meet him. This general thought, and very justly, that, shut up for some days within the walls of Alexandria, he should not stand in need of these regiments, and that they would be, on the contrary, eminently serviceable to Menou, to scour the country along his line of march.

Menou was compelled to make very long detours, in the bed of the lake Mareotis itself, in order to regain the plains of Alexandria. He, however, succeeded, after some trouble, particularly with his artillery. The troops arrived on the 19th and 20th of March (28th and 29th Ventôse). He arrived there himself on

the 19th, and could perceive, with his own eyes, the great blunder which had been committed, in allowing the English to effect a landing.

The latter had received some reinforcements, with guns and stores, and had established themselves upon the identical sandy heights, which Lanusse and Friant had occupied on the 13th of March. They had constructed some redoubts, and had armed them with heavy artillery. To dislodge them would be a very difficult task.

Besides, the English were very superior to us in number. They had about 17,000 or 18,000 men, against fewer than 10,000. Friant and Lanusse, since the affair of the 22nd, had scarcely 4500 fighting men. Menou did not bring with him at the utmost more than 5000 men. We had, therefore, but 10,000 men, to oppose to 18,000 occupying an intrenched position.

All the advantages which might have been ours, in the first, and even in the second affair, were now against us. Nevertheless, the most natural thing that could be done was to fight. After having, in fact, attempted to drive back the English into the sea, at first with 1500 men, afterwards with 5000, it would have been extraordinary not to have attempted it, when we had 10,000 men, in other words, all the force we could collect at one point.

We must not disguise from ourselves that there was still another course to pursue, and which should have been adopted after the first landing, and before the useless battle which generals Lanusse and Friant had fought: this was, to leave the English in the defile which they occupied; to throw up works without loss of time round Alexandria, which would have rendered it very difficult for them to carry that place; to have intrusted the guard of it to the seamen, and to the men in the depôts, reinforced by a body of 2000 good troops, drawn from the most effective corps: afterwards, to have evacuated all the posts, with the exception of Cairo, where we might have left 3000 men as a garrison, having the citadel as a stronghold; then to have kept the field, with the rest of the army, amounting to 9000 or 10,000 men, with a view of falling upon the Turks, if they should penetrate by the way of Syria, or upon the English, if they should advance into the interior, along the narrow dykes which traverse Lower Egypt. We had the advantage over them of being able to muster all kinds of military force, comprising cavalry, artillery, and infantry, while we enjoyed exclusively the command over the provisions of the country. We might have blockaded them, and probably have forced them to re-embark. But, to effect this, an infinitely more able general than Menou was necessary, some one possessing, in a far higher degree than he did, the art of stirring up the spirit of the troops. In short, a commander was wanted, of a different stamp from him, who, having all the advantages in his favour at the beginning of the campaign, had contrived, by mismanagement, to transfer them one by one to the enemy.

Nevertheless, to fight the English now they had landed, was, at the moment, the natural course, and what might be expected from the previous events which had occurred during the campaign. But, once having resolved to risk a decisive effort, it was essential to carry it into execution with the least possible delay, in order not to afford the Turks, already on their march from Syria, time to press us too closely.

However, before giving battle, it was necessary to agree upon some plan. Menou himself was wholly incompetent to conceive one, and he was upon such a footing with his generals as barely admitted of his consulting them upon the subject. Nevertheless, the head of the staff, Lagrange, requested Lanusse and Reynier to furnish a plan. These two officers matured one, and submitted it to Menou for his approval: the latter adopted it almost mechanically.

The two armies were in presence of each other, occupying the bank of sand, about a league in width, and fifteen or eighteen in length, upon which the English had first landed. The French army was posted before Alexandria, upon a commanding elevation. Before it, was an extensive sandy plain, with here and there small eminences, which the enemy had carefully intrenched, in order to form a continued chain of positions, from the sea to the lake Maréotis. On our left, just opposite to the sea, there was an old Roman camp, a sort of square construction, still in good preservation, and a little in advance of this camp, a sandy eminence, upon which the English had thrown up a redoubt. At that spot they had stationed their right, supported by the double fire from this work, and a division of gunboats. In the middle of the field of battle, at an equal distance from the sea and from lake Maréotis, was another sandy eminence, higher and more extensive than the preceding, and likewise crowned with an intrenchment. The English had constructed this for the support of their centre. On our extreme right, towards the margin of the lakes, the ground sloped downwards to the head of the dyke, for the possession of which position the battle had been fought some days previously. A series of redoubts connected the position occupied by their centre with the head of this dyke. The English had their left wing, as well as their right, protected by a division of gunboats, introduced upon the lake Maréotis. Their front of attack, developed in its full length, extended nearly a league, was covered by heavy artillery, which had been dragged by the men to the spot, and was defended by a detachment of the English army. But the main body of the enemy was posted, ready for battle, in two lines, behind the works.

It was agreed to break up on the morning of the 21st of March (30th Ventôse), before daylight, in order the better to conceal our movements, and to be less exposed to the fire from the enemy's intrenchments. The plan of our generals was to attack

and to carry these intrenchments by a *coup de main*, then pass on, so as to attack the main body of the English army, ranged in order of battle behind. Accordingly, our left, under Lanusse, was to bear down in two columns upon the right wing of the English, which rested upon the sea-side. The first of these two columns was to advance briskly, in double quick time, against the fortification erected on the sand-hill, in advance of the Roman camp. The second, passing rapidly between this work and the sea, was to attack the Roman camp, and take it by assault. The centre of our army, commanded by general Rampon, had orders to advance considerably beyond this point of assault, to pass between the Roman camp and the great redoubt in the centre, and to attack the body of the English army beyond the works. Our right wing, composed of Reymer's and Friant's divisions, but under the command of Reynier alone, was ordered to deploy in the plain on the right, and there to feign a formidable attack near the lake Maréotis, in order to induce the English to believe that the real danger was on that side. In order to confirm them in this notion, the regiment of dromedaries was to cross the bed of the Lake Maréotis, and make an attack upon the head of the dyke. It was hoped that this diversion would render the sudden attack of Lanusse on the sea-side more easy of execution.

On the 21st. before daybreak (30th Ventose), our troops were in motion. The regiment of dromedaries performed with exactness the duty which had been assigned to them. They rapidly crossed the dry parts of the lake Maréotis, alighted before the head of the dyke, carried the redoubts, and turned the guns against the enemy. This was enough to deceive the English, and draw their attention towards the lake Maréotis. But, to insure the success of the plan agreed upon, and which was to be carried out on the sea-side, a precision was necessary, such as is difficult of attainment when a manœuvre is executed in the dark, and still more unattainable, when there is not at the head one supreme directing mind to guide the enterprise, and competent to compute both time and distances.

The division of Lanusse, manœuvring in the dark, advanced without order, and created confusion among our troops in the centre. The first column, under the orders of general Silly, marched boldly to the redoubt, which was thrown up before the Roman camp. Lanusse directed it in person, and led it on to the redoubt. But suddenly he discovered that the second column had missed its way, and instead of skirting the sea-side to attack the Roman camp, had approached too close to the first. He rode towards it, for the purpose of pointing out the position assigned to it. Unfortunately, at this moment he received a wound in the thigh, which proved mortal; a most fatal event, which was to entail deplorable consequences. The troops being suddenly deprived of the command of this energetic officer, the

attack slackened. The day, which now began to dawn, enabled the English to discern the point against which they should direct their fire. Our soldiers, galled simultaneously by the fire from the gunboats, from the Roman camp, and the redoubts, evinced admirable firmness and bravery. But, ere long, all their superior officers being wounded, they were left without commanders, and fell back behind some slight eminences of sand, scarcely high enough to cover them. Meanwhile, the first column, which Lanusse had left to proceed towards the second, had just carried the first redan of the redoubt, erected on the hill towards the right. It then marched onwards against the main work, with a view to storm it, but, being baffled in this attempt, wheeled round in order to attack it on the flank. The centre of the army, under Rampon, perceiving that column foiled in its attempt, likewise turned from its object in order to support it. The 32d demi-brigade, detached from the centre, also came up to storm this fatal redoubt. These general concurrent efforts led to a sort of confusion. They pressed furiously against this obstacle, and the rapid operation, which was, to have consisted in carrying, in double quick time, the line of the works, was converted into a long, obstinate attack, in which much valuable time was lost. The 21st demi-brigade, which belonged to the centre, leaving the 32d engaged before the redoubt, the possession of which was so hotly disputed, alone executed the plan originally laid down, passed the line of intrenchments, and, advancing boldly, deployed in the face of the English army. It received, and returned, a most tremendous fire. But it needed support, and Menou, during this time, incapable of commanding, paced up and down the field of battle, issuing no orders, but allowing Reynier to extend his line uselessly in the plain on the right, with a considerable force, without any duty to perform.

Menou was at this time advised to undertake with the cavalry, which was 1200 strong, and of incomparable valour, a general charge upon the mass of English foot, which the 24th had alone advanced to encounter. Menou, adopting this advice, gave orders to charge. The gallant general Roize placed himself immediately at the head of the 1200 horse, crossed rapidly the line of the enemy's destructive fire, formed by the redoubts which our infantry were in vain attempting to carry by storm, got safely over to the other side, and finding the 21st demi-brigade at close quarters with the English, fell impetuously upon them. This gallant body of cavalry first leaped the ditch which separated them from the enemy, and then dashed fiercely upon the foremost line of the English infantry, drove them back in disorder, and cut down a great number of men. The enemy was thus forced to give way. If Menou, at this moment, or rather Reynier, supplying the place of his chief, had brought up our right wing to the support of the cavalry, the centre of the English army, thereby thrown into confusion, and driven beyond the works,

would have left us a secure victory. The works, isolated, cut off from all support, would have fallen into our hands. But the case was far otherwise. The French cavalry, after having broken the enemy's line, seeing before them still other lines to overcome, and having only the 21st demi-brigade to support it, fell back, repassing under the exterminating fire of the redoubts.

From this moment the battle could not possibly have a successful issue. The left, deprived of all energy by the death of their general, poured an ineffectual fire upon the intrenched positions, which returned it with most murderous effect. The right,—deployed in the plain, near the lake Maréotis, in order to make a diversion, which had no longer any aim in view, since the engagement, now become general, had fixed each party in its respective position—in this way performed no service whatever. Without doubt an energetic general, who would have recalled it to the centre, and with this additional force have renewed general Roize's attack, might have attempted a second inroad upon the main body of the English, and thus have changed, perhaps, the fortune of the day. But general Menou gave no such commands, and Reynier, who at that moment might have taken the initiative, which he assumed inopportunely on other occasions in civil matters, confined himself solely to venting complaints at not receiving directions from the commander-in-chief. In this state of matters, the only thing which remained to be done was to retreat. Menou issued the orders, and the division fell back, presenting a bold front to the enemy, but suffering fresh losses from the fire of the works.

What a spectacle war becomes, when the lives of men, when the destiny of empires, are thus confided to incapable or disunited chiefs, and when blood is made to flow in torrents, commensurate with the inaptitude or the dissensions of those who are invested with command!

It could not be said that the battle was lost, the enemy not having made a step in advance; but it was virtually lost, inasmuch as it was not completely gained, for it was essential that our success should have been complete, to enable us to drive back the English towards Aboukir, and compel them to re-embark. The loss was great on both sides. The English had about 2000 men killed and wounded, and amongst them was the brave general Abercromby, who was carried on board the fleet in a dying state. The loss of the French was about the same. Exposed during the whole day to a downward fire, both in front and in flank, they had suffered severely. The troops displayed admirable coolness. The spirit with which the cavalry charged had filled the English with surprise and admiration. The number of officers and generals wounded during the battle was greater than usual. Generals Lanusse and Roize were killed; the general of brigade, Silly, commanding one of Lanusse's columns, had his leg carried off; general Baudot was wounded

so severely that his life was despaired of. General Destaing, also, was badly wounded. Rampon had his uniform riddled with balls.

The moral effect was still more disastrous than the physical loss. No hope now remained of being able to force the enemy to re-embark. We were about to have upon our hands, besides the English who had landed at Alexandria, the Turks, already on their march from Syria; the capitan-pacha, about to arrive with the Turkish squadron, and to disembark 6000 Albanians on the coast at Aboukir; besides 6000 Sepoys brought from India, by way of the Red Sea, and ready to land at Cosséir, upon the coast of Upper Egypt. What was to be done in the midst of so many enemies, with troops whose courage, doubtless, was unimpaired, when called upon to fight, but who, when the affairs of the colony grew desperate, were always ready to say, that the expedition was a dazzling act of folly, and that their blood was sacrificed unavailingly to a mere chimera?

In the three engagements of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March, we had lost the services of nearly 3500 men, of whom one-third were killed, one-third severely wounded, and one-third incapable of returning to the ranks for some weeks to come. Although the army was greatly weakened, we could, nevertheless, now, as at the beginning of the campaign, manœuvre rapidly between the various bodies tending to form a junction, beat the vizir, if he should enter by way of Syria, or the capitan-pacha, if he should attempt to penetrate by way of Rosetta, or the English, if they should advance on the narrow tongues of land, which communicate with the interior of Egypt. But the 3500 men whom we had lost rendered this plan more difficult than ever. If 3000 men were left in Cairo, and 2000 or 3000 in Alexandria, only 7000 or 8000 would remain to manœuvre in the open field, even supposing that all the available forces were collected, and that the secondary posts were evacuated, without any exception. With a very resolute and able general, success would have been doubtful, yet still within the bounds of possibility; but what could be expected of Menou and his lieutenants?

One hope of retrieving our fortunes yet remained. Far from this hope being ever abandoned, its realisation was again and again announced. They reckoned on the arrival of Ganteaume with his fleet, and the troops he had on board, intended for disembarkation. Four thousand men arriving at this juncture would have saved Egypt. They had sent to the admiral a despatch boat, to point out to him a spot on the coast of Africa, twenty or thirty leagues to the west of Alexandria, upon which it was possible to land, far out of sight of the English. Three thousand men might, in that case, have been left in Alexandria, and, withdrawing those troops which could be spared from Cairo, we might have manœuvred with 10,000 or 11,000 in the open field. But Ganteaume, although far superior to Menou, did not act much

better in the present instance. After having repaired, at Toulon, the damage which his fleet had sustained in quitting Brest, he had, as we have seen, sailed from Toulon on the 19th of March (28th Ventôse), had re-entered that port on account of the stranding of the ship *Constitution*, and had again put to sea on the 22nd of March (1st Germinal), and made sail towards Sardinia. A slight favourable breeze, a bold resolution, might have wafted him to the shores of Egypt, as he had adroitly escaped admiral Warren, by steering a feigned course. He was already only fifteen leagues from cape Carbonara, the extreme point of Sardinia, and just about to enter the channel which separates Sicily from Africa. Unfortunately, during the evening of the 26th of March (5th Germinal), one of his captains, in command of the *Dix-Août*, in the absence of captain Bergeret, who was ill, most unskilfully ran foul of the *Formidable*, received considerable injury, and caused no less severe damage to the vessel against which she had struck. Alarmed at the extent of the damage, Ganteaume thought himself no longer in a condition to remain at sea, and put back to Toulon on the 5th of April (15th Germinal), fifteen days after the battle of Canopus.

They were, of course, ignorant of these circumstances in Egypt, and, notwithstanding the time elapsed, they still clung to the last ray of hope. At the appearance of the smallest sail, they flocked to see if it were not Ganteaume. In this state of anxiety, they took no decisive measures, but remained in a fatal state of inaction. Menou only caused some works to be erected around Alexandria, to repel any attack which the English might make. He had given orders for the evacuation of Upper Egypt, whence he withdrew Donzelot's brigade, to reinforce the other troops at Cairo. He had brought some troops from Alexandria to Ramanieh, to watch the movements making in the neighbourhood of Rosetta. To add to the misfortune, Mourad Bey, whose fidelity had not been shaken for an instant, had just died of the plague, and had transferred his Mamelukes to Osman Bey, upon whom we could no longer rely. The plague commenced its ravages at Cairo. Every thing was proceeding as badly as could be, and portended a fatal conclusion.

The English, on their side, fearing the army before them, would hazard nothing. They preferred advancing slowly but surely. They were waiting, moreover, till their allies, the Turks, whom they greatly distrusted, were in a position to support them. They had now been a month on land, without having attempted any other enterprise than that of capturing the fort of Aboukir, which had been bravely defended, but which had yielded to the terrific fire from their ships. At length, towards the beginning of April (middle of Germinal), they determined to put an end to this state of inaction and the sort of blockade in which they were reduced to live. Colonel Spencer was ordered to cross over the roadstead of Aboukir by sea, with a body of some

thousand English, and the 6000 Albanians of the capitan-pacha, and to effect a landing at Rosetta. The object of this, was thereby to open for themselves an access to the interior of the Delta, to procure fresh provisions, of which they were in great need, and to lend a hand to the vizir, who was advancing from the other extremity of the Delta, by the Syrian frontier. There were at Rosetta only some few hundred French, who could oppose no resistance to this attempt, and these fell back by ascending the Nile. They joined at El Aft, a little before Ramanieh, a small body of troops despatched from Alexandria. This body was composed of the 21st light and a company of artillery. The English and the Turks, now masters of the mouth of the Nile, whence provisions could reach them, having access to the interior of Egypt, thought at length of taking advantage of their successes, but without being in too much haste, for they still waited twenty days before they marched forwards. General Hutchinson, who had succeeded Abercromby in the command, did not venture to weaken his force encamped before Alexandria. He had sent scarcely 6000 English and 6000 Turks to Rosetta, although reinforcements had reached him, to make good his losses, and his available force now amounted to 20,000 men. If general Menou, employing advantageously his time, and devoting the month which had elapsed, to the construction around Alexandria of the defensive works which were indispensable—had thus husbanded his forces, so as to leave there but few troops; if he had directed against Ramanieh about 6000 men, and drawn to this point all the troops which were not absolutely necessary at Cairo; he might have brought 8000 or 9000 men into the field against the English, who had now just made their appearance at Rosetta. This number would have sufficed to drive them back to the mouths of the Nile; it would have revived the spirit of the army, would have secured the fidelity of the Egyptians, which had been shaken, would have retarded the march of the vizir, would have reduced the English to a positive state of blockade, upon the sands of Alexandria, and thus have restored fortune to our arms. It was, indeed, the last available opportunity. This movement was suggested to him; but, always timid, he only half followed the advice which had been given to him. He sent general Valentin to Ramanieh, with a force which was pronounced insufficient. He then despatched a second force, under the command of general Lagrange, chief of the staff. Both united only amounted to little more than 4000 men. But he did not order the troops down from Cairo, and general Lagrange, who was, nevertheless, a gallant officer, was not equal to the task of maintaining with so small a force his position, before 6000 English and 6000 Turks. Menou ought to have collected there 8000 men at least, under his best general. He could have accomplished this by a vigorous concentration of his forces, and by sacrificing the minor points to the paramount object in view.

General Morand, who commanded the first detachment directed upon Rosetta, had stationed himself at El Aft, on the banks of the Nile, near the town of Foûéh, in a position which possessed some advantages for defence. At this spot general Lagrange joined him. The English and the Turks, masters of Rosetta and of the mouths of the Nile, had covered the river with their gunboats, and would have soon carried the small open town of Foûéh. It was therefore necessary to fall back upon Ramanieh during the night of the 8th of May (18th Floréal). The site of Ramanieh did not offer any advantages of consequence for defensive operations, and the strength of the place scarcely counterbalanced the numerical superiority of the enemy. Nevertheless, if it were expedient to make at any spot a desperate defence, Ramanieh was that spot. For in case that position were lost, the detached body, under general Lagrange, would be separated from Alexandria, and compelled to fall back upon Cairo. Thus the French army would be cut in two, one half being shut up in Alexandria and the other in Cairo. If, when entire, it was unequal to dispute the possession of the field with the English, it would then be quite impossible when cut in two. In this extremity there would be no resource left but to sign a capitulation. The loss of Ramanieh was, in point of fact, therefore, the definitive loss of Egypt. Menou wrote to general Lagrange, that he was hastening with 2000 men to his assistance, which proves that he had at least that number at his disposal. There were not fewer than 3000 at Cairo, consequently 9000, or at least 8000 men, might have been collected at Ramanieh. There, in the open field, with an excellent cavalry and a splendid light artillery, and with a determination to conquer or die, they were certain of triumphing. But Menou did not make his appearance, and Belliard, who had the command at Cairo, received no orders. General Lagrange, at the head of the 4000 men who were at his disposal, sheltered his rear at Ramanieh, on the Nile, which waters, as it flows by, the habitations of this little town. In this position, he had in his rear the English gunboats, which occupied the river, and which poured a shower of shot into the French camp; he had in his front, on the level sand, without any other shelter to protect him than some very slight field-works, the main body of the enemy, consisting of English and Turks. Their numbers might be about 12,000, against 4000 French. The danger was imminent; but it was better to fight, and if overpowered to surrender at night, on the field of battle, after having fought during the whole day, than to abandon such a position without a contest; 4000 men, all seasoned warriors and eager to defend themselves, had yet many chances of success. But the chief of the staff of Menou, who, although greatly devoted to the views of that general and to the preservation of the colony, did not foresee the consequences of this retreat, evacuated Ramanieh on the 10th of May (20th Floréal), in the

evening, and fell back on Cairo. He arrived there on the morning of the 14th (24th Floréal). He sacrificed at Ramanieh magazines of immense value, and what was more important still, the communications of the army.

From that day nothing that occurred in Egypt is worth recording, or deserving our notice. The men there sunk ignominiously with fortune, even beneath themselves. There was exhibited throughout, the most shameless imbecility coupled with the most deplorable incapacity. But, when we say the men, it is of the chiefs alone that we intend to speak; for the soldiers, and the subordinate officers, always admirable in their conduct in the presence of the enemy, were ready to die in the field, even to the last man. Never, on any single occasion, did they fail to maintain their former reputation and glory.

At Cairo, as at Alexandria, all that remained to be done was to capitulate. At best, they could only retard the capitulation; still to retard a capitulation is often of the utmost importance. In appearance, we only seem to be defending our honour, but often, in reality, we save our country. Masséna, by prolonging the defence of Genoa, brought the battle of Marengo within the scope of possibility. The generals in possession of Cairo and Alexandria, by protracting a hopeless resistance, might still be seconding effectually the serious negotiations now pending between France and England. They were not aware of this, it is true; therefore, when unconscious of the services which we may render to our country by prolonging a defence, we should listen to the voice of honour, which commands us to hold out to the last extremity. Of these two generals now blockaded, the most unfortunate was Menou, since he had committed the greater faults; yet he, by persisting in procrastinating the surrender of Alexandria, was still instrumental, as we shall see, in furthering the interests of France. This, at a future period, was his consolation, and his chief excuse with the First Consul.

When the troops detached at Ramanieh re-entered Cairo, they had to deliberate what course to take. General Belliard was, by his rank, the commander-in-chief. He was a prudent man, but more remarkable for prudence than for decision. He called a council of war. There were 7000 men left, effective troops, besides 5000 or 6000 sick and wounded, or persons employed about the army. The plague was raging with violence; there were but little money and provisions, and a city of immense extent to defend. Seven thousand men were insufficient to guard the whole compass. In no part of the whole *enceinte* was there any work, fit to make a resistance against European engineers. The citadel had, it is true, an intrenchment, but quite incapable of containing 12,000 Frenchmen, and wholly unable to resist the heavy artillery of the English. Such a post was only calculated for protection against the population of Cairo. There were obviously but two courses to follow: either to endeavour by a bold

march to descend into Lower Egypt, to accomplish the passage of the Nile by surprise, and to rejoin Menou in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, or to retire to Damietta, which would have been more sure and more easy, especially on account of the immense multitude of persons attached to the army, which they would be obliged to carry with them. Our force would there have been in the midst of lagoons, which only communicated with the Delta by very narrow tongues of land, and 7000 men might easily have kept their ground for a length of time against an enemy two or three times superior in number. They were certain of procuring in great abundance all kinds of supplies; for the province was covered with cattle, the city of Damietta was well stocked with grain, and the lake Menzaleh abounded with the finest fish, the kind of food best adapted for the troops. As it was only a question of time, when to capitulate, the city of Damietta would have enabled them to put off for six months this lamentable result. The officer of engineers, Hautpoul, suggested this wise course; but, to adopt it, it was necessary to decide upon a very difficult step, the evacuation of Cairo. General Belliard, who was capable a few days afterwards of giving up the city to the enemy by means of a deplorable capitulation, would not consent to do it on that day voluntarily, when urged to do so by officers of sound military judgment. He accordingly determined to remain in the capital of Egypt, without exactly knowing what he intended to do. By the left bank of the Nile, the English and the Turks were ascending from Ramanieh to Cairo; by the right bank, the grand vizir with 25,000 to 30,000 followers, mustered from the different oriental troops, was advancing from the coast of Syria in the direction of Cairo, by the road of Belbeïs. General Belliard, remembering the glories of Heliopolis, was desirous of marching out to meet the vizir, on the same road which Kléber had taken. He set out at the head of 6000 men, and advanced towards the heights of Elmenair, about the distance of two days' march. Being often surrounded by a cloud of horsemen, Belliard sent after them his light artillery, which, here and there, just reached some of them with its balls, but this was the only result that could be obtained. The Turks, well commanded on this occasion, would not engage in a second battle of Heliopolis. There was but one mode of getting at them, and that was to fall upon their camp at Belbeïs. But general Belliard, received at all the villages by volleys of musketry, perceiving his number of wounded increase at each step, and the distance widen which separated him from Cairo, began to fear that the English and the Turks might enter that city during his absence. He should have foreseen this danger before he quitted it, and have put the question to himself, whether there was time to cross to Belbeïs. After leaving Cairo, without having made up his mind as to what he intended to do, general Belliard returned thither in the same state

of indecision, after a military operation unattended by any result; and which made him appear, in the eyes of the inhabitants, as if he had been beaten. Like the inhabitants of all countries recently brought under submission, the Egyptians turned with fortune, and, although not dissatisfied with the French, they were inclined to abandon us. Nevertheless, there was no apprehension of an insurrection, unless the city of Cairo were condemned to the horrors of a siege.

The French army, disgusted with the humiliations to which the incapacity of its generals had exposed it, was completely repossessed with the notions which led to the convention of El Arisch. The troops consoled themselves in their misfortunes, dreaming of a return to France. If an resolute and able general had set them such an example as Masséna did the garrison of Genoa, they would have followed it. But nothing of this sort was to be anticipated from general Belliard. Hemmed in on the left bank of the Nile by the Anglo-Turkish army, which had advanced from Ramanieh; upon the right bank by the vizir, who had accompanied it step by step; he proposed to the enemy a suspension of arms, which was eagerly acceded to, as the English were more bent on securing substantial advantages than mere renown. That which they were most anxious for was the evacuation of Egypt, no matter in what way it was accomplished. General Belliard assembled a council of war, at which a very stormy discussion ensued. Great complaints were raised against his conduct as commander of the division at Cairo. He was told that he knew not when to abandon Cairo in time, and take up a position at Damietta, nor to maintain himself in the capital of Egypt by well combined operations; that he had only made a ridiculous *sortie*, to fight with the vizir, without succeeding in coming up with him; and that, not knowing which way to turn himself, he now applied to his officers, and asked them whether he should negotiate or fight to the last, when he had already settled the question himself by the spontaneous opening of the negotiations. All these reproaches were levelled at him with bitterness, especially by general Lagrange, a friend of Menou's, and a strong advocate for the preservation of Egypt. The generals Valentin, Duranteau, and Dupas, took the same side as general Lagrange, and they all maintained that, for the honour of their colours, it was absolutely necessary to fight. Unfortunately, this was no longer practicable, without cruelty to the army, more especially to that numerous portion of sick and supernumeraries which followed it. They had before them more than 40,000 enemies, exclusive of the sepoys, who, now landed at Cosséir, were about to descend the Nile with the Mamelukes, who, since the death of Mourad Bey, had thrown off their allegiance. In our rear we had a semi-barbarous population of 300,000 souls, infected with the plague, threatened with famine, and ready, to a man, to rise up against the French. The *enceinte* was too extensive to defend, or to keep guarded by 7000 men, and too

weak to resist the European engineers. The place might be carried, and every Frenchman put to the sword, after an assault. In vain some of the officers raised their voice against a step that would tarnish the honour of our arms. There was no alternative but to surrender. General Belliard, wishing to show himself ready for any emergency, again mooted the question, whether a retreat to Damietta was practicable; a question which it was then too late to discuss. He also made another suggestion equally singular, to wit, whether they could seek refuge in Upper Egypt. This latter proposal was downright folly; it evinced but the miserable cunning of weakness, anxious to conceal its confusion under a false semblance of boldness. It was, therefore, resolved to capitulate; nothing else could be done, unless they all wished to be put to the sword, after a furious assault.

Commissioners were sent to the camp of the English and the Turks, in order to propose a capitulation. The enemy's generals accepted this proposal with joy; so much did they fear, even at this moment, a change of fortune. They acceded to the most favourable conditions for the army. It was agreed that our troops should retire with all the honours of war, with arms, baggage, artillery, and horses, in short, with all they possessed; that they should be transported back to France, and victualled, during the voyage, at the expense of England. Such Egyptians as might wish to follow the army (and there were a considerable number who, by their connexion with the French, had compromised themselves), were to be permitted to join them. It was moreover stipulated, that they should be allowed to dispose of their property.

This capitulation was signed on the 27th of June, 1801, and ratified on the 28th (8th and 9th Messidor, year IX.) The pride of the old veterans of Egypt and of Italy was deeply wounded. They were about to return to France, not as they had entered it in 1798, after the triumphs of Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli, proud of their glory, and of the services rendered to the Republic; they were about to return conquered, but still to return; and, for hearts that had suffered from a lengthened exile, this was yet a joy which quite bewildered them, even in their reverses. There was, in the recesses of their breasts, a deep-seated satisfaction, which they did not avow, but which their very countenances betrayed. The commanders alone were thoughtful, meditating upon the judgment which the First Consul would pronounce upon their conduct. The despatches, which conveyed the news of the capitulation were couched in terms of the most humiliating anxiety. They selected, as the bearers of these despatches, those individuals who, in their personal acts, had been most exempt from blame. These were Hautpoul, the officer of engineers, and Champy, the director of the powder-mills, who had both been so useful to the colony.

Menou was shut up in Alexandria, and, like Belliard, had no alternative but to surrender. There could be, between the

fate of one and the other, but a mere difference in point of time. Some cases of plague had appeared in Alexandria; provisions were becoming scarce, in consequence of the error which had been committed, in not laying in a stock of supplies, before the siege commenced. It is true that the Arabian caravans, attracted by the hope of gain, still supplied them with some meat, butter and cheese, and some grain. But wheat was much wanted, and they were under the necessity of making the bread partly of rice. The scurvy diminished daily the number of our able-bodied troops. The English, in order completely to insulate the place, conceived the project of emptying the lake Maadié into the lake Maréotis, which was half dried up, and thus to surround Alexandria with an unbroken sea of water, and to encircle it with gunboats. For this purpose they had cut the dyke, which runs from Alexandria to Ramanieh, and which forms the separation between the two lakes; but, as the difference of the level was but nine feet, some time elapsed before the water of the one lake could be drawn off into the other; and, moreover, the operation, which was desirable with the object in view of separating general Belliard from general Menou, was no longer of the same utility, since the recent events at Cairo. If it extended the sphere of action for the gunboats, it was also advantageous for the French, by contracting the front of attack, without even depriving them of their communications with the caravans, as the long bank of sand upon which Alexandria is situated, is connected at the western extremity with the desert of Lybia. The English, however, were desirous of completing the investment of the place; and for that purpose they embarked troops in their gunboats, and about the middle of August (end of Thermidor) attempted a landing, not far from the town of Marabout. They undertook also the siege of the fort of that name in a regular form. From that moment the place, completely invested, could not long hold out.

The unfortunate Menou, thus reduced to inaction, having now leisure to reflect on his errors, with blame showered upon him from all sides, consoled himself, nevertheless, with the idea of an heroic resistance, similar to that of Masséna in Genoa. He wrote to the First Consul, and assured him that a memorable defence would be made. Generals Dumas and Reynier remained without any troops at Alexandria. They there made use of the most offensive language and, even in these closing scenes, could not assume a becoming deportment. Menou caused them one night to be put under arrest, in the most public manner, and ordered them to be shipped off to France. This tardy act of vigour, when all was virtually over, produced but little effect. The army, with great good sense, severely blamed Reynier and Dumas, but entertained a very indifferent opinion of Menou. The only favour the army bestowed upon him was not to detest him. Listening coldly to his procla-

mations, in which he announced his resolution to die rather than surrender, the army was ready, if necessary, to fight to the last extremity, but hardly thought it worth while in the position in which it was. They comprehended too well the consequences of what had occurred at Cairo, not to foresee an approaching capitulation; at Alexandria, as at Cairo, they consoled themselves for their reverses by dwelling upon the hope of soon revisiting France.

From that day, nothing further of importance marked the presence of the French in Egypt; the expedition was in a manner at an end. Admired as a prodigious act of boldness and talent by some, it was, on the contrary, condemned by others as a brilliant chimera, especially by those who affect to weigh every thing in the balance of a cold and passionless reasoning.

This latter judgment, though it might bear the semblance of wisdom, is at the bottom, neither just nor founded in good sense.

Napoleon, in his long and prodigious career, never conceived any thing more grand, nor which could indeed be more truly useful. Doubtless, if we consider that we have not even retained possession of the Rhine and the Alps, it must be admitted that Egypt, even if we had occupied it fifteen years, would have been, at a later period, wrested from us, like our continental frontiers; like that ancient and magnificent possession, the Isle of France, for which we were not indebted to the wars of the Revolution. But to judge of things by this rule, we might go so far as to inquire, whether the conquest of the Rhine was not itself a folly, a chimera! In order to form a correct opinion on this question, we must picture to ourselves our protracted wars, brought to a totally different termination from that which we actually witnessed, and ask ourselves whether, in that case, the possession of Egypt was possible, desirable, and of immense importance? To the question put upon this footing, the answer cannot be doubtful. In the first place, England was almost reconciled, in 1801, to our retaining Egypt at the price of equivalent compensations. These equivalents, which were communicated to our representative, had in them nothing exorbitant. It is beyond a doubt that, during the maritime peace which ensued, the conclusion of which we shall soon make known, the First Consul, foreseeing the short duration of the peace, would have sent immense resources to the mouth of the Nile, both of men and military stores; and it is certain that the splendid army sent to St. Domingo, whither it was despatched to seek an indemnification for lost Egypt, would have sufficed to protect our new settlement for a long time against any attacks. A general like Decaen, or St. Cyr, combining military experience with the science of administrative government, with, not only the 22,000

men which remained in Egypt of the first expedition, but the 30,000 which perished unavailingly at St. Domingo; established with 50,000 Frenchmen, and an immense stock of stores, in a perfectly healthy climate, upon a soil of inexhaustible fertility, cultivated by a peasantry perfectly submissive to their masters, and whose muskets were never seen by the side of the plough—such a general we say as Decaen, or St. Cyr, with such means at command, would have victoriously defended Egypt, and would have founded a magnificent colony.

Success was unquestionably attainable. We will add, that in the maritime and commercial struggle which France and England maintained against each other, the attempt was, in some degree, imperative upon us. England had just, in fact, conquered the continent of the Indies, and had thus acquired a supremacy in the Eastern seas. France, up to that period her rival, could not yield such a supremacy without disputing it. Did she not owe it to her glory, to her destiny, to struggle for it? To this the politician and the patriot must make the same reply. Yes, it was incumbent on us, to carry our arms into those regions of the East, the vast field of the ambition of the maritime nations; it was meet that we should strive to acquire a possession which could counterbalance those of the English. This truth being once admitted, let the wide world be searched, and where will be found any acquisition better adapted than Egypt to the end contemplated? It surpassed in value the finest countries; it was conterminous with the richest, the most fertile, those which furnish the most ample resources for foreign trade. It brought back to the Mediterranean, of which we were at that time the masters, the commerce of the East; it was, in one word, an equivalent for India; and, at any rate, it was the high road to it from Europe. The conquest of Egypt, then, was of immense importance to France, and would have contributed to the independence of the seas, and to general civilisation. Accordingly, as will be seen elsewhere, our success was more than once desired by the cabinets of Europe, during those brief intervals, when hatred no longer disturbed the peace of nations. For such a purpose it would have been worth while to sacrifice an army, and not only that army which was the first time despatched to Egypt, but those which were sent at a later period, to perish unavailingly in St. Domingo, in Calabria, and in Spain. Would to Heaven, that in the aspirations of his vast imagination, Napoleon had never conceived any thing more rash and unadvised!

BOOK XI.

GENERAL PEACE.

Last unsuccessful Attempt of Ganteaume to put to Sea—He touches at Derne, but dares not land two thousand Men whom he had on Board, and puts back to Toulon—Capture of the Swiftsure on the passage—Admiral Linois, sent from Toulon to Cadiz, is obliged to cast Anchor in the Bay of Algéziras—Brilliant Engagement off Algéziras—A combined French and Spanish Squadron sails from Cadiz to assist Linois' Division—Return of the combined Fleet to Cadiz—Action between the Rear-Division and Admiral Saumarez—Dreadful Mistake of two Spanish Ships, which, in the Night, taking each other for Enemies, fight with Desperation, and are both blown up—Exploit of Captain Troude—Short Campaign of the Prince of Peace against Portugal—The Court of Lisbon hastens to send a Negotiator to Badajoz, and to submit to the joint Requisitions of France and Spain—Course of European Affairs since the Treaty of Lunéville—Increasing Influence of France—Visit to Paris of the Infants of Spain, destined for the Throne of Etruria—Renewal of the Negotiation in London, between M. Otto and Lord Hawkesbury—The English present the Question in a new Shape—They demand Ceylon in the East Indies, Martinique or Trinidad in the West Indies, Malta in the Mediterranean—The First Consul answers these Pretensions by threatening to seize upon Portugal, and, in case of need, to invade England—Warm Altercation between the *Moniteur* and the English Newspapers—The British Cabinet gives up Malta—Renews all its Pretensions, and demands the Spanish Island of Trinidad—The First Consul, to save the Possessions of an allied Court, offers the French Island of Tobago—It is rejected by the British Cabinet—Silly Conduct of the Prince of Peace, which furnishes an unexpected Solution of the Difficulty. This Prince treats with the Court of Lisbon, without concerting with France, and thus deprives the French Legation of the Argument drawn from the Dangers of Portugal—Irritation of the First Consul, and Threats of War against Spain—M. de Talleyrand proposes to the First Consul to finish the Negotiation at the Expense of the Spaniards, by giving up the Island of Trinidad to the English—M. Otto is authorised to make this Concession, but only in the last Extremity—During the Negotiation, Nelson makes the greatest Efforts to destroy our Flotilla at Boulogne—Splendid Actions off Boulogne, fought by Admiral Latouche-Treville with Nelson—Defeat of the English—Joy in France, Alarm in England, in consequence of these two Engagements—Reciprocal Tendency to a Reconciliation—The last Difficulties are overcome, and Peace is concluded, in the Form of Preliminaries, by the Sacrifice of the Island of Trinidad—Unbounded Joy in England and France—Colonel Lauriston, sent to London with the Ratification of the First Consul, is drawn about in Triumph for several Hours—Meeting of a Congress in the City of Amiens to conclude a definitive Peace—Series of Treaties successively signed—Peace with Portugal, the Ottoman Porte, Bavaria, Russia, &c.—Fête in Celebration of the Peace fixed for 18th Brumaire—Lord Cornwallis, plenipotentiary to the Congress of Amiens, is present at that Fête—His Reception by the People of Paris—Banquet in the City of London—Extraordinary Demonstrations of Sympathy reciprocated at this Moment by the two Nations.

BOOK XI.

GENERAL PEACE.

WHILE the army in Egypt was sinking for want of an able commander, and for want of seasonable succour, admiral Ganteaume made a third attempt to run out of the port of Toulon. The First Consul had scarcely allowed time for repairing the damage sustained by the *Dix-Août* and the *Indomptable*, in running foul of each other, but had obliged him to put to sea again almost immediately. Admiral Ganteaume had sailed on the 25th of April (5th Floréal). He had orders to bear up for the island of Elba, so as to make, in passing, a demonstration upon Porto Ferrajo, and facilitate its occupation by the French troops. The First Consul made a point of retaking that island, the possession of which was secured to France by treaties with Naples and Etruria, and in which there was a small garrison, half Tuscan, half English. The admiral obeyed, appeared off Elba, fired a few shot at Porto Ferrajo, and passed on, lest he should expose himself to damages which would have rendered it impossible for him to have fulfilled his mission. Had he proceeded direct to Egypt, he might still have been the saviour of the army there; for, as we have seen, the position of Ramanieh was not lost till the 10th of May (20th Floréal). There was time, therefore, sailing as he did on the 25th of April, to prevent the army from being cut in two, and from being obliged to capitulate, one division after the other. To accomplish this, he ought not to have lost a moment. But a sort of fatality attended all the operations of admiral Ganteaume. We have seen him getting luckily out of Brest, arriving still more luckily in the Mediterranean, losing confidence all at once, taking four ships for eight, and running into Toulon. We have seen him sail from that port in March, escape admiral Warren, and when beyond the southernmost point of Sardinia, once more put back in consequence of the *Dix-Août* and the *Indomptable* running foul of each other. This was not the end of his misfortunes. Scarcely had he lost sight of Elba, when a contagious disease, broke out in his squadron. Whether owing to the weariness of the troops, which had been long on board, or to ill luck, this disease suddenly threw on the sick list, a great

part of the soldiers, and of the crews. It was deemed useless and imprudent to carry such a number of sick to Egypt, and admiral Ganteaume resolved to divide his squadron. Consigning three ships to the care of admiral Linois, he put the sick soldiers and sailors on board, and despatched them to Toulon. He proceeded, in fulfilment of his mission, with four [illegible] and two frigates, having on board 2000 land [illegible], and steered for Egypt. But he was not in time; for it was upon nearly the middle of May, and at that period the French army was lost, since generals Belliard and Menou were separated from one another, in consequence of the abandonment of Ramanieh. Admiral Ganteaume was ignorant of this. He passed Sardinia and Sicily, appeared in the channel of Candia, contrived several times to give the enemy the slip, even sailed up the Archipelago to escape them, and at length came to an anchor off the coast of Africa, a few days' march to the west of Alexandria. The point which he had chosen was Derne, pointed out in his instructions as a proper place for landing. It was imagined that, by supplying the troops with provisions and money to hire camels from the Arabs, they would be enabled to cross the desert and to reach Alexandria in a few marches. This was but a vague conjecture. Admiral Ganteaume had been at anchor a few hours and hoisted out part of his boats, when the inhabitants hastened to the beach, and kept up a smart fire of musketry upon them. Jérôme Bonaparte, the youngest brother of the First Consul, was among the troops which were going to land. Efforts were made in vain to conciliate and win over the natives. The French would have been obliged to destroy their little town of Derne, and to march to Alexandria without water, and almost without provisions, fighting the whole way. It would have been a mad enterprise, and moreover without object, for 1000 men at most, out of the 2000, could have succeeded in reaching the place of their destination. It would not have been worth while to sacrifice so many brave men, for the sake of so small a reinforcement. Besides, an event, easy to be foreseen, put an end to all doubts. The admiral thought that he perceived the English fleet; he no longer deliberated, hoisted his boats on board, and slipped his cables, without taking time to weigh anchor, lest he should be attacked at his moorings. He set sail, and was not overtaken by the enemy.

Fortune, which had used him roughly, for, as it has often been observed, she favours only spirits daring enough to trust to her, had, however, some compensation in reserve for him. In running through the channel of Candia, he fell in with an English ship of the line: it was the Swiftsure. To give chase to her, to surround, rake, and capture her, was an affair of a few moments. It was on the 24th of June (5th Messidor), that he met with this good luck Admiral Ganteaume entered Toulon with this species of trophy, a poor amends for so much ill-success. The

First Consul, disposed to be indulgent towards men who had shared great dangers with him, was pleased to accept this compensation, and to announce it in the *Moniteur*.

However, all these movements at sea were destined to terminate in a manner, less mortifying for our navy. While admiral Ganteaume was returning to Toulon, admiral Linois, who had put into that port to land his soldiers and sailors sick of the fever, had again sailed, according to express orders from the First Consul. He lost no time in lime-washing the interior of his ships, in exchanging the sick for fresh troops, in recruiting his crews with able seamen, and got under weigh for his new destination. A despatch, which he was not to open till he got out to sea, directed him to proceed forthwith to Cadiz, to join the six ships commissioned in that port by admiral Dumanoir, and the five ships from Ferrol, which, with the three under his command, would form a squadron of thirteen ships of the line. It was possible that the Rochefort squadron under admiral Bruix might have arrived there. In this case, a fleet of more than twenty sail would be collected, and this fleet, which would be master of the Mediterranean for some months, was to take on board the troops at Otranto, and to carry immense succours to Egypt. It was not yet known in France that it was too late, and that Alexandria was the only place at that moment left to defend. To save this last point, however, was not a matter of indifference.

Admiral Linois, in implicit obedience to these orders, made sail for Cadiz. By the way, he gave chase to several English frigates, which he had well nigh taken, encountered contrary winds at the entrance of the Straits, and at length entered them in the beginning of July (middle of Messidor). Having been apprised by signals that the English Gibraltar fleet was watching off Cadiz, he put into the Spanish port of Algéziras in the evening of the 4th of July (15th Messidor).

Near the Straits of Gibraltar, that is to say, towards the southernmost point of the Peninsula, the mountainous coast of Spain opens, and, assuming the shape of a horse-shoe, forms a deep bay, the mouth of which faces the south. On one side of this bay lies Algéziras, on the other Gibraltar, so that Algéziras and Gibraltar are situated opposite to each other, at the distance of 4000 fathoms, or nearly a league and a half. All that passes at Gibraltar may be distinctly seen from Algéziras by means of an ordinary telescope. There was not a single English ship in the bay, but rear-admiral Saumarez was not far distant. With seven ships, he was watching the port of Cadiz, where at this moment several divisions, either French or Spanish, were collected. Informed of all that was passing, he lost no time in seizing the opportunity thus offered for destroying Linois' division, as he had seven ships to oppose to three. He had, it is true, detached one of these seven, the Superb, to

watch the mouth of the Guadalquivir. He made a signal for her to rejoin him; but the wind being unfavourable for the return of the Superb, he steered for Algéziras with six sail of the line and one frigate.

Admiral Linois, on his part, had been warned by the Spanish authorities of the danger which threatened him, and he had recourse to the only precautions which the nature of the situation allowed him to take. The coast of Algéziras, in the bay of the same name, situated, as we have just said, opposite to Gibraltar, forms a roadstead rather than a harbour. It has no projecting points, being quite straight, and running from north to south, without any creek in which vessels can take shelter, only, at the two extremities of this roadstead, there are two batteries: the one to the north of Algéziras, on an elevated point of the coast, known by the name of the battery of St. Jago; the other, to the south of Algéziras, on an islet called Green Island. The battery of St. Jago mounted five eighteen-pounders, and that of Green Island, seven twenty-four pounders. This was no great help, especially on account of Spanish negligence, which had left all the posts along the coast, without gunners and without ammunition. Admiral Linois, however, put himself in communication with the local authorities, who did their best to assist the French. He ranged his three ships, and his frigate along the shore, supporting the extremities of this very short line, upon the two fortified positions of St. Jago and Green Island. First lay the *Formidable*, which, placed northernmost, was supported by the battery of St. Jago, then the *Desaix*, in the middle, and lastly the *Indomptable*, which was the southernmost, near the battery of Green Island. Between the *Desaix* and Green Island was stationed the *Muiron* frigate. Some Spanish gunboats were intermingled with the French ships.

On the 6th of July, 1801 (17th Messidor, year IX.), rear-admiral Saumarez, having left his station off Cadiz, bore up with a west-north-west wind for the bay of Algéziras, doubled cape Carnero, entered the bay, and made for the French line lying at its moorings. The wind, which was unfavourable for the approach of the English ships, separated them from one another, and luckily prevented them from acting with all the concert desirable. The Venerable, which had headed the column, was left behind. The Pompey took her place, ran along our line, passing successively under the fire of the battery of Green Island, of the *Muiron* frigate, of the *Indomptable*, the *Desaix*, and the *Formidable*, discharging her broadsides into each of them, and taking up a position within musket-shot of our admiral's ship the *Formidable*, on board of which Linois had hoisted his flag. An obstinate fight ensued between these two antagonists, almost within point-blank range. The Venerable hitherto unable to beat up to the scene of action, endeavoured to approach for the purpose of assisting the Pompey. The Audacious, the third of the

English ships, destined to attack the *Desaix*, could not get so far to windward, but anchoring abreast of the *Indomptable*, the southernmost French ship, opened a heavy fire upon her. The Cæsar and the Spencer, the fourth and fifth English ships, were one of them astern, the other carried to the extremity of the bay by the wind which blew from west to east. The sixth and last, the Hannibal, was at first driven towards Gibraltar, but, after many manœuvres to approach Algéziras, tacked in shore, and kept a close luff, to turn our flag-ship the *Formidable*, and get between her and the land. The engagement with such as could come up was most obstinate. The English ships had severally cast anchor, that they might not drift from Algéziras towards Gibraltar. Our flag-ship had two enemies upon her at once, the Pompey and the Venerable, and would soon have had a third, if the Hannibal had succeeded in taking a position between her and the shore. The captain of the *Formidable*, the gallant Lalonde, was killed by a cannon-ball. An extremely animated fire was kept up, amidst shouts of *Vive la République! Vive le Premier Consul!* Admiral Linois, who was on board the *Formidable*, bringing his broadside opportunely to bear on the Pompey, which presented only her stem to him, succeeded in raking, dismasting, and almost completely disabling her. Availing himself, at the same time, of a change in the wind which had veered to the east, and blew towards Algéziras, he made a signal to his captains to cut their cables, and to suffer their ships to drift aground, so as to prevent the English from getting between us and the shore, and placing us between two fires, as Nelson had done in the battle of Aboukir. This grounding could not be attended with much danger to the French ships, for it was then ebb-tide, and at high water they were sure to be got off again with ease. This order, seasonably given, saved the division. The *Formidable*, after she had quite disabled the Pompey, took the ground without any severe shock; for the breeze in changing its direction had lulled. In thus avoiding the danger with which she was threatened by the Hannibal, she gained a formidable position with regard to that antagonist. Besides, the Hannibal in performing her manœuvre, had herself grounded, and lay immovable under the double fire of the *Formidable* and the battery of St. Jago. The Hannibal made every effort to escape from this perilous situation; but as the tide ebbed, she became irremediably fixed in her position. She was exposed to a tremendous fire from all quarters, as well from the shore, as from the *Formidable* and the Spanish gunboats. She sunk one or two of these gunboats; but her fire was not a match for that which was poured into her. Admiral Linois, thinking that the battery of St. Jago was not worked with sufficient spirit, landed general Devaux with a detachment of the French troops, which he had on board. The fire of that battery was then redoubled, and the Hannibal was overwhelmed.

But a new adversary was at hand to complete her defeat. The second French ship, the *Desaix*, stationed next to the *Formidable*, in obeying the order to drift to shore, had in consequence of the breeze almost dying away, executed that manœuvre slowly, and was still a little astern of the line, equally in sight of the Hannibal, and the Pompey, which the *Formidable*, in drifting away, had exposed to her fire. The *Desaix*, taking advantage of this position, poured a first broadside into the Pompey, and handled her so roughly as to oblige her to strike her flag, and then turned all her guns upon the Hannibal. Her balls, grazing the side of our admiral's ship, the *Formidable*, made dreadful havoc on board the Hannibal. The latter, incapable of further resistance, also struck her flag. Consequently two English ships out of six, had been obliged to surrender. The four others, by dint of manœuvres, had got into line again, and near enough to engage the *Desaix* and the *Indomptable*. The *Desaix*, before she grounded, had made head against them, while the *Indomptable* and the *Muiron* frigate, slowly drifting towards the shore, answered them by a well-directed fire. These last two ships had placed themselves under the battery of Green Island, the guns of which were worked by French soldiers, who were landed for that purpose.

The battle had now raged for several hours with the greatest energy. Admiral Saumarez, having lost two ships out of six, and having no hope of any result from the action, for he could not get closer to the French without running the risk of grounding along with them, threw out the signal for retreat, leaving us in possession of the Hannibal, but determined to carry off the Pompey, which, quite dismasted, lay like a hulk on the scene of action. Admiral Saumarez, having sent to Gibraltar for boats, succeeded in towing off the hull of the Pompey, which our ships, being aground, could not retake. The Hannibal remained our prize.

Such was the battle of Algéziras, in which three French ships fought six English, destroyed two, and kept one of the two their prize. The French were overjoyed, though they had sustained severe loss. Captain Lalonde of the *Formidable* was killed; and Captain Moncousu of the *Indomptable* had fallen gloriously. We numbered about 200 killed and 300 wounded, in all 500 officers and seamen killed and wounded, out of 2000 who were on board the squadron. But the loss of the English in killed and wounded amounted to 900 men; and their ships were completely riddled.

Glorious as was this action, the business was not quite over. Our ships had sustained so much damage, that it was absolutely necessary to withdraw from the anchorage of Algéziras. Admiral Saumarez enraged, and vowing to revenge himself the moment Linois should leave his place of refuge, and sail for Cadiz, made great preparations. He employed the vast re-

sources of the port of Gibraltar, to put his division into fighting condition, and even prepared fire-ships, resolved at least to burn the French ships, if he could not draw them out to sea. Admiral Linois had but the resources of Algéziras, which were little better than none, for repairing his damages. The arsenal of Cadiz, indeed, was not far off, but it was no easy matter to bring materials thence by sea on account of the English, nor by land on account of the difficulty of transit; and yet the spars and rigging of the French ships were destroyed, and several of their masts were carried away, or much damaged. Admiral Linois made every possible exertion to make them fit for putting to sea again. Scarcely any thing was to be found for dressing the wounded. The French consuls in the neighbouring ports had been obliged to send surgeons and medicines overland by post.

At this moment, the Spanish squadron which had come from Ferrol, was at Cadiz, besides the six ships given to France, and equipped in haste by admiral Dumanoir. The force of these two divisions, in point of number, was certainly very satisfactory; but the Spanish navy, always worthy by its bravery of the illustrious nation to which it belonged, had experienced also the effect of the general negligence, which paralysed all the resources of the kingdom. The division of the French admiral Dumanoir, scantily manned with sailors of all countries, could not impart much confidence. None of the ships which composed it equalled those of Linois' division, trained by long cruises, and elated with their recent victory.

It required the most earnest solicitations to induce the Spanish admiral Massaredo, commanding at Cadiz, and very ill-disposed towards us, to afford succour to admiral Linois. On the 9th of July (20th Messidor), he despatched admiral Moreno, an excellent officer, of great valour and experience, to Algéziras, with the five Spanish ships from Ferrol, one of the six ships given to Dumanoir, the *San Antonio*, and six frigates. This squadron carried stores destined for Linois' division. In one day it reached the roadstead of Algéziras.

Men were kept at work night and day, in repairing the three ships which had fought so glorious an engagement. These three ships had been got afloat at the first flood-tide. Their rigging was refitted in the best and speediest possible manner; top-masts were made for them out of top-gallant-masts, and by the morning of the 12th, they were ready for sea. The same pains were bestowed on the Hannibal, which had been taken from the English, and which was also to be carried into Cadiz.

On the morning of the 12th, the combined squadron got under weigh, with an east-north-east wind, which carried it out of the bay of Algéziras into the Straits. It sailed in order of battle, the two largest Spanish ships, the *San Carlos* and the *Santa Hermenegilda*, both of 112 guns forming the rear division.

The two admirals were, according to the custom of the Spanish navy, on board one of the frigates. This was the *Sabina*. Towards nightfall the wind lulled. They would not return to the anchorage of Algéziras, because that position was a dangerous one to take, in presence of an enemy's division, and moreover, because there was reason to apprehend the arrival of the reinforcements, expected every moment by the English squadron. It was determined, however, to leave behind the Hannibal, which could not make any progress, though towed by the *Indienne* frigate. She was sent back to the road of Algéziras. The combined squadron lay-to, hoping that the wind would freshen in the course of the night. Admiral Saumarez, on his part, had given orders for sailing. He had lost the Hannibal; the Pompey was unfit for service; he had, therefore, no more than four of the six ships which had fought at Algéziras. But he had been rejoined by the Superb, which made up a division of five sail of the line, besides several frigates, and some light vessels provided with combustibles. He had carried his rancour so far, as to put on board his ships furnaces for red-hot shot. Though he had but five large ships, and the allies nine, he resolved to run every risk to repair the humiliating check of Algéziras, and to spare himself the dreaded censure of the Admiralty. He followed the united French and Spanish squadron at a very small distance, ready to seize the first opportunity that might occur to fall upon the rear-division.

About midnight, the wind having freshened, the combined squadron again made sail for Cadiz. Its order was somewhat changed. The rear division was formed of three ships, ranged in a single line, the *San Carlos* on the right, the *Santa Hermenegilda* in the middle, and the *San Antonio*, a seventy-four, now French, on the left. They sailed in this manner abreast, at very short distances from each other. The night was extremely dark. Admiral Saumarez ordered the Superb, an excellent sailer, to crowd all sail and to attack our rear division. The Superb soon overtook the combined squadron. She had extinguished her lights, that she might be the less liable to be perceived, keeping a little astern of the *San Carlos* on her lee. She poured a whole broadside into her, and continuing without intermission, gave her a second and a third, firing red-hot balls. The *San Carlos* instantly took fire. The Superb, perceiving this, kept astern, slackened sail, and remained at some distance. The *San Carlos*, in flames, being badly handled in the confusion, drifted to leeward, and instead of keeping in line, soon fell astern of her two neighbours. She fired in all directions; her balls reached the *Santa Hermenegilda*, the crew of which, mistaking her for the headmost ship of the English column, poured all their fire into her. At this critical moment a frightful mistake was committed by the crews of the two Spanish ships, who each mistook the other's ship for the enemy's.

The two ships brought up alongside, and approaching so close as actually to run foul of each other's rigging, entered furiously into an obstinate engagement. The fire now became more violent on board the *San Carlos*, soon communicated to the *Santa Hermenegilda*, and these two ships, in this condition, continued to pour heavy broadsides into each other without intermission. Both squadrons in the utter darkness of the night, were equally ignorant of what was going on; and with the exception of the Superb, who must have been conscious of this fatal mistake, since she was the cause of it, no vessel dared to come near, not knowing which was Spanish, of which was English, nor which they ought to assist, or to attack. The French ship the *San Antonio* had removed from this dangerous proximity. The conflagration soon increased to an awful height, spreading a lurid light over the whole surface of the sea. It would appear that the fatal delusion, which armed these brave Spaniards against each other, was now dissipated, but too late—the *San Carlos* blew up with a frightful explosion. A few minutes afterwards the *Santa Hermenegilda* also blew up, spreading terror throughout the crews of the two squadrons, who were perfectly ignorant which of the ships had perished by this catastrophe.

The Superb perceiving the *San Antonio* separated from the two others, bore up towards her, and boldly engaged her. This ship, recently put into commission, defended herself without that order and coolness, which are indispensable to put in motion these gigantic engines of warfare. She suffered most severely, and two new adversaries, the Cæsar and the Venerable, coming up at the moment, rendered her defeat inevitable. She struck her flag after having been made a complete wreck.

Admiral Saumarez thus cruelly revenged himself, without, however, acquiring much glory for himself, but with considerable damage to the Spanish fleet. The two admirals, Linois and Moreno, on board the *Sabina*, had kept as near as possible to this frightful scene. Being unable to distinguish, in the darkness, what was going on, or to give the requisite orders, they suffered the most intense anxiety. At break of day, they found themselves a short distance from Cadiz, with their squadron rallied, but diminished in number by three ships, the *San Carlos* and the *Santa Hermenegilda*, which had both blown up, and the *San Antonio*, which had been captured. A fourth ship, belonging to the combined fleet had kept in the rear, this was the *Formidable*, admiral Linois' flag-ship, which had been crowned with glory at the battle of Algeziras, but which still suffered from the effects of that engagement. Being compelled to carry short sail, owing to the loss of some of her masts, therefore sailing slowly, being near the two burning ships, and dreading the fatal mistakes of the night, she had kept in the rear, not deeming it in her power to be of any assistance, to

either of the vessels in action. In this way, she became a little separated from the squadron. Being descried in the morning in her isolated position, she was surrounded by the English, and attacked by one frigate and three ships. Admiral Linois on leaving her, and hoisting his flag on board the *Sabina*, had appointed one of his lieutenants, captain Troude, to the command of the *Formidable*. This able and valiant officer, considering with a rare presence of mind, that if he tried to escape by making all sail, he would be run down by the ships which were better rigged than his own, resolved to seek his safety in a skilful manœuvre, and a vigorous engagement. His crew participated in his feelings, and not one amongst them would consent to lose the laurels won at Algéziras. They were veteran tars, disciplined by a long voyage, and accustomed to fighting, a point still more essential at sea than on land. Their worthy captain, Troude, did not wait till all his adversaries, who were in chase of the *Formidable*, should be united against her, but bore right down upon the nearest, which was the Thames frigate. He came close up to her, and with his superior weight of metal, poured into her such a terrible fire, as soon sickened her of so unequal a contest. The Venerable, an English seventy-four, came up at full sail after her. Captain Troude, feeling still conscious that he was superior to her also (the Formidable carrying eighty guns), waited till she came up, to engage with her, whilst the two other English ships tried to gain upon her on the wind, and to cut off her retreat into Cadiz. Working his ship in a seaman-like manner, he brought his overwhelming broadside, bristling with guns, to bear upon the unprotected forecastle of the Venerable, and making, by a skilful manœuvre, the superiority of his weight of metal produce its full effect, he riddled her with balls, shot away one mast, then a second, then a third, and after having raked her fore and aft like a hulk, lodged several dangerous shots in her hull, between wind and water, which put her in imminent danger of sinking. This unfortunate ship, fearfully disabled, excited the alarm of the rest of the English division. The Thames frigate returned to afford her assistance; the two other English ships, which had endeavoured to place themselves between Cadiz and the *Formidable*, soon put about. They were desirous of saving the crew of the Venerable, which they were afraid would go down, and at the same time overwhelming the French ship, which made so noble a resistance. The latter trusting to his seamanship and his good fortune, fired successively into them the most rapid and well-directed broadsides; he discouraged them, and sent them off to the Venerable, ready to turn bottom upwards, if they did not speedily arrive to her assistance.

The gallant captain Troude, having got rid of his numerous enemies, proceeded in triumph towards the port of Cadiz. A multitude of Spaniards, attracted by the firing, and the explo-

sions during the night, had crowded to the beach. They had witnessed the danger and the triumph of the French ship, and, in spite of a very natural grief, for the loss of the two Spanish vessels, which was already known, they filled the air with acclamations at the sight of the *Formidable*, returning victoriously into the harbour.

The English could not deny that the glory of these engagements was on our side; and as respected the actual loss, it was equally divided. If the French had lost one ship and the Spaniards two, the English had left one vessel in our power, and had two so disabled, as to be rendered quite unfit for further service. But for the accidental occurrences of the night, they might be considered as having been quite beaten, in these several encounters. The battle of Algéziras, and the return of the *Formidable* into port, were amongst the most distinguished exploits known in the annals of our naval history. But the Spaniards were dejected, as, though their admiral, Moreno, had conducted himself well, a brilliant action did not compensate to them for the loss of the *San Carlos* and the *Santa Hermenegilda*.

However, the events in Portugal afforded them some consolation. We last left the prince of Peace, preparing to commence the war against Portugal, at the head of the combined forces of the two nations, with the view, as we have already fully explained, of influencing the negotiations at London.

In conformity with the plan agreed upon, the Spaniards were to carry on their operations upon the left bank of the Tagus, and the French on the right. Thirty thousand Spaniards were assembled before Badajoz, upon the frontiers of Alentejo. Fifteen thousand French were marching, by way of Salamanca, upon Tras-os-montes. Thanks to the energetic efforts made, to the loans advanced by the clergy, and to the general sacrifices made by all branches of the service, the equipment of 30,000 Spaniards had been provided for. But the train of artillery was greatly behindhand. Nevertheless, the prince of Peace, counting with reason upon the moral effect of the union of the French with the Spaniards, was anxious to proceed at once to hostilities, and eager to gather his first laurels. He could not help wishing to carry off all the honours of the campaign, and to keep the French in reserve, only as a resource to fall back upon in case of reverses. We could well afford to leave the prince of Peace the enjoyment of such a gratification. The French, at that moment, were not careering after glory, but solicitous about useful results; and these results consisted in the occupation of one or two provinces of Portugal, in order to hold fresh securities against England. However easy of attainment the object of the war might seem, there was still a danger to be feared, and that was, that it might be taken up by the national prejudices of the Portuguese. The hatred of the latter

against the Spaniards, might have produced disastrous results, if the approach of the French, advancing some few days' marches in the rear, had not dissipated these feeble wishes to offer a resistance. The prince of Peace hastened, therefore, to pass the frontier, and to attack the fortified places in Portugal, with field pieces for want of battering guns. He took possession of Olivenza and Jurumenha, without difficulty. But the garrisons of Elvas and Campo Mayor, shut themselves up within their walls, and made a show of defending themselves. The prince of Peace ordered these places to be invested, and, during this time, marched forward to meet the Portuguese army, under the command of the duke of Alafoëns. The Portuguese, unable to keep their ground anywhere, fled towards the Tagus. The garrisons which were besieged then threw open their gates. Campo Mayor surrendered; and the siege of Elvas was undertaken in regular form, with a park of artillery, now arrived from Seville. The prince of Peace pursued the enemy triumphantly, over-run rapidly Azumar, Alegrete, Portalegre, Castello-de-Vide, Flor de Rosa, and at length crossed the Tagus, behind which the Portuguese hastened to seek refuge. He had succeeded in making himself master of almost the whole of the province of Alentejo. The French had not yet passed the frontiers of Portugal, and it was manifest, that if the Spaniards single-handed had obtained such results, the Spaniards and the French united, must inevitably, in a very few days, make themselves masters of Lisbon and Oporto. The court of Portugal, which had hitherto refused to believe that the threatened attack was contemplated in earnest, now perceiving the events which were taking place, hastened to make her submission, and to despatch M. Pinto de Souza to the Spanish head-quarters, with orders to subscribe to any conditions which it might be the pleasure of the combined armies to impose upon her. The prince of Peace, wishing to make his royal masters the witnesses of his glory, induced the king and queen to go to Badajoz, to distribute the rewards to the army, and to hold there a sort of congress. In this way, a court, formerly so illustrious, but at present dishonoured by a dissolute queen, by an incapable and all-powerful favourite, tried to indulge in the illusion of directing mighty affairs. Lucien Bonaparte had followed the king and the queen to Badajoz. Such was the state of matters at the end of June, and the beginning of July.

The engagements of Algéziras, and of Cadiz, which were fought with a view of giving confidence to our navy; the brief campaign of Portugal, which established the decisive influence of the First Consul in the Peninsula, and proved that he had the power of treating Portugal like Naples, Tuscany, and Holland, compensated up to a certain point, for the unfavourable tidings as yet received from Egypt. Neither the battle of Canopus, nor the capitulation already signed at Cairo, nor the capitu-

lation subsequently rendered inevitable at Alexandria, were as yet known. Intelligence by sea was not transmitted at that time, with the same rapidity as at the present day; a month at least, and sometimes longer, was required to convey to Marseilles the news of an event which had happened on the Nile. The only fact known respecting the affairs of Egypt, was the landing of the English, and their first skirmishes upon the sands of Alexandria; no idea could be formed of the events which followed; and the ultimate result of the contest was involved in the greatest doubt. The weight which France could cast into the scale of the pending negotiations, was no ways diminished; on the contrary, it was increased, by the influence which she each successive day acquired in Europe.

The treaty of Lunéville produced, in fact, its inevitable consequences. Austria disarmed, and henceforward powerless in the eyes of all Europe, left full scope to our designs. Russia, since the death of Paul I. and the accession of Alexander, was no longer, it is true, inclined to take any energetic measures hostile to England, but, at the same time, did not oppose the views of France in the west. Indeed, the First Consul took no pains to conceal his views. He had recently converted Piedmont, by a simple decree, into French departments, without giving himself a thought about any objections urged by the Russian ambassador. He had declared that, with respect to Naples, the treaty of Florence should be the basis of the rule by which the affairs of that kingdom should be adjusted. Genoa had just submitted her constitution to him, that he might introduce some alterations, calculated to strengthen the executive authority. The Cisalpine Republic, composed of Lombardy, the Duchy of Modena, and the Legations, constituted a first time by the treaty of Campo Formio, and a second time by the treaty of Lunéville, was now newly organised into the state of an ally, dependent upon France. Holland, after the example of Liguria, submitted her constitution to the First Consul, in order to confer greater power on the government, a sort of reform, which was effected, at that time, in all the Republics, ancillary to the French Republic. In short, the minor negotiators, who not long since sought support from M. de Kalitscheff, the haughty minister of Paul I., now regretted having sought this protection, and solicited from the favour of the First Consul alone, an amelioration of their condition. The representatives of the princes of Germany especially, manifested, in this respect, the greatest eagerness. The treaty of Lunéville had settled the principle of the secularisation of the Ecclesiastical States, and the division of these states amongst the hereditary princes. Every feeling of ambition was roused by this approaching distribution. The great, as well as the minor powers, alike aspired to obtain the most advantageous share. Austria, and Prussia, although their losses on the left bank of

the Rhine had been very trifling, were anxious to participate in the promised indemnities. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and the house of Orange, besieged the new chief of France with their solicitations, inasmuch, as being the principal party to the treaty of Lunéville, he would have the greatest influence upon the execution of that treaty. Prussia herself, represented at Paris by M. de Luchesini, did not disdain to stoop to play the part of a suppliant, and to give additional lustre to the dignity of the First Consul, by the humility of her solicitations. Thus, although the six months which had elapsed since the signature was affixed to the treaty at Lunéville had been marked by reverses in Egypt—reverses, it is true, imperfectly known in Europe—still, during that time, the ascendancy of the French government had been maintained, and the course of events only served to render her power more evident, and more preponderating. This combination of circumstances must have its due influence upon the negotiation at London, which had been allowed to languish for a moment, but which was about to be resumed with renewed activity, owing to the singularly coincident views of the two governments. The First Consul, on hearing of the first proceedings of Menou, deemed the campaign quite lost, and he was anxious to conclude peace at London before the catastrophe, which he foresaw, could take place. The English ministers, not being in a position, like him, to form a correct opinion on the issue of events, and moreover, apprehensive of some vigorous effort of the army of Egypt, so renowned for its valour, were desirous of taking advantage of the first appearance of success to press the negotiations; so that both nations, as they had before felt inclined to temporise, now concurred in wishing to conclude peace.

But before we again enter into the intricacies of this vast negotiation, wherein the greatest interests of the universe were about to be discussed, we must relate an event which absorbed at this moment the undivided attention of all Paris, and which completed the unparalleled spectacle which Consular France exhibited at that period.

The Infants of Parma, appointed to reign over Tuscany, had quitted Madrid at the moment when the royal family set out for Badajoz, and they had just arrived on the frontiers of the Pyrenees. The First Consul considered it of great importance that they should visit Paris, before they were sent to Florence to take possession of the new throne of Etruria. All kinds of contrasts pleased the active and enlarged mind of general Bonaparte. He delighted in this truly Roman scene, representing a king created by himself, with his own republican hands; he was pleased, above all, in being able to show that he did not fear the presence of a Bourbon, and that his glory placed him in a proud position, far above any comparison with the ancient dynasty, whose place he filled. He delighted, also, in dis-

playing, before the eyes of the whole world, even in Paris, which had been but recently the theatre of a sanguinary revolution, a pageantry, an elegance worthy of royalty. All this must necessarily tend to mark distinctly the sudden change which had taken place in France, under his restorative authority.

That attentive and minute foresight, which he knew how to apply to a great military operation, he did not disdain to employ in those magnificent pageants, in which he himself personally, and the glory by which he was surrounded, were to be the most conspicuous objects. He took pains to regulate the smallest details, to provide every thing suitable to the occasion, to marshal every one in his proper place; and this was necessary in an entirely novel state of social order, created out of the wrecks of a whole world destroyed. Every thing had to be adjusted anew, not excepting etiquette, with which even republics cannot dispense.

The three Consuls deliberated, for a long time, upon the mode in which the king and queen of Etruria should be received in France, and upon the ceremonial which should be observed in respect to them. In order to obviate many difficulties, it was agreed that they should be received, under the assumed title of count and countess of Leghorn; that they should be treated as illustrious guests, following the precedent during the last century, in the case of the young czar, Paul I., and that of the emperor of Austria, Joseph II. The difficulties, to which the official rank of the king and queen would have given rise, were thus, by means of the incognito, completely removed. The necessary orders were accordingly issued to the respective civil and military authorities in the departments upon the line of road.

Novelty delights the people in all ages. This was one, and one of the most surprising, to see a king and a queen, after a twelve years' revolution, which had overturned, or threatened so many thrones; it was one, moreover, very flattering for the French nation, since this king and queen were the fruits of their victories. In every place where the Infants appeared, they excited the liveliest transports of joy. They were received with every demonstration of regard and respect. No unpleasantness on their journey brought to their recollection that they were travelling in a country which, not long previous, was convulsed to the very centre. The Royalists, who were not in any way flattered by this monarchical work of the French Republic, were the only parties which seized upon the present occasion to manifest any spiteful feeling; at the theatre at Bordeaux they shouted violently, and with marked emphasis, "*Vive le roi!*" The people responded to this cry, "*A bas les rois!*"

The First Consul himself, by means of letters issued from his cabinet, moderated the over-excessive zeal of the prefects, as he

did not wish to magnify this royal progress into an event of too great importance. In June the young princes arrived in Paris, where their stay was to extend to a whole month. They were to take up their residence at the house of the Spanish ambassador. The First Consul, although a simple temporary magistrate of the Republic, represented the French nation; before this prerogative all the privileges of the blood royal gave way. It was arranged that the two young sovereigns, having given previous intimation to the First Consul, should pay him the first visit; and that he should return it on the following day. The second and third consuls, who could not claim to be in the same degree the representatives of France, were to make the first visit to the Infants. Thus, with respect to the latter, the distance of birth and rank was established. On the day following their arrival, the count and countess of Leghorn were conducted to Malmaison by the Spanish ambassador, count Azara. The First Consul received them at the head of the exclusively military household which he had adopted. The count of Leghorn, put somewhat out of countenance, threw himself like a child into the arms of the First Consul, who, on his side, embraced him warmly. He treated this young couple with a paternal kindness, and with the most delicate attention, maintaining over them, nevertheless, all the superiority which power, glory, and years, naturally confer. On the following day, the First Consul returned their visit at the house of the ambassador. The Consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, performed, on their parts, the duties prescribed to them, and received from the young princes, the marks of courtesy which were due to them.

It was arranged that the First Consul should present the count and countess of Leghorn to the people of Paris at the Opera. On the day appointed for this introduction, he was suffering from indisposition. The Consul Cambacérès supplied his place, and escorted the Infants to the Opera. Upon entering the Consul's box, he took the count of Leghorn by the hand, and presented him to the audience, who responded by the most unanimous applause, wholly free from any malicious or offensive meaning. Nevertheless, the idle part of the community, accustomed to give vent to their thoughts, by subtle, far-fetched constructions put upon the most ordinary occurrences, interpreted the journey of the princes of Spain to Paris in a hundred different ways. Those who only aimed at uttering a witty saying declared, that the Consul Cambacérès had just presented the Bourbons to the French nation. The royalists who persisted in expecting from general Bonaparte, that which he could not, and would not do, gave out that this was, on his part, one mode of preparing the minds of the people for a restoration of the ancient dynasty. The republicans, on the contrary, alleged that he was aiming, by these regal pageantries, to

accustom France to the re-establishment of a monarchy, but for his own benefit.

The ministers received orders to lavish entertainments upon the princely visiters. M. de Talleyrand did not require these wishes to be intimated to him. Justly considered a model of taste and elegance under the ancient régime, he was still better entitled to this distinction under the new state of things, and he gave, at the château of Neuilly, a *fête* of a most magnificent description, where the *élite* of French society assembled, and where names, long banished from the circles of the capital, were eminently conspicuous. At night, in the midst of a brilliant illumination, a representation of the city of Florence appeared, executed with marvellous ingenuity. The Tuscan people were depicted dancing and singing upon the celebrated Plaza of the Palazzo Vecchio, offering flowers to the young sovereigns, and triumphal crowns to the First Consul. This magnificent spectacle had cost a very considerable sum. It combined all the prodigality of the Directory with the elegance of other times, and that regard to decorum which was now so new, and which a severe master was striving to impress upon the manners of revolutionary France. The minister of war followed the example of the minister of foreign affairs, and gave a military fête, in commemoration of the anniversary of the battle of Marengo. The minister of the interior, and the second and third consuls, gave, in succession, magnificent entertainments to the royal princes, and, during an entire month, the capital presented the appearance of continual rejoicing. The First Consul, however, did not wish the Infants to be present at the republican solemnities of the month of July, and he accordingly made the necessary arrangements for their departure from Paris, previous to the anniversary of the 14th of July.

Whilst these brilliant spectacles were being given, he endeavoured to instil some good advice into the minds of the royal pair who were about to reign over Tuscany. But he was struck with the incapacity of the young prince, who, when he was on a visit to Malmaison, gave himself up in the aides-de-camp's waiting-room to amusements, scarcely pardonable in a raw youth. The princess alone seemed intelligent, and attentive to the advice bestowed by the First Consul. The latter augured indifferently of these new sovereigns, destined to rule a portion of Italy, and clearly perceived that he would frequently be required to interfere in the affairs of their kingdom. "You see," said he, quite publicly, to several members of the government; "you see what these princes are, sprung from the old blood, and especially those who have been educated and brought up at the southern courts. How can we intrust them with the government of nations! However, there is no harm in having exhibited, to the French people, this specimen of the Bourbons. They may judge by them, whether the members of the ancient

dynasties are competent to deal with the difficulties inseparable from an active age like the present." Every one, in fact, on seeing the young prince, had made the same remark as the First Consul. General Clarke was appointed Mentor to these two sovereigns, under the title of Minister of France, at the court of Etruria.

Amidst this vast pressure of public business, amidst these fêtes, which, themselves, amounted almost to public business, the important subject of the maritime peace was not neglected. The negotiations entered into at London, between lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto, had transpired. They were kept less secret, since both parties were more anxious to arrive at a conclusion. As we have said before, the desire to bring them to a termination had succeeded the wish to temporise, as the First Consul augured badly from the events which were occurring on the banks of the Nile, and the British government was apprehensive of some unexpected exploit on the part of the army of Egypt. The new English minister was very desirous of peace, as that was the sole object of his assuming office. If, indeed, the war was still to be carried on, Mr. Pitt was far fitter than Mr. Addington to be at the head of affairs. All the events which had happened, whether in the north or in the east, however much they had improved the relative position of England, were viewed by the English ministers, as furnishing them rather with means of negotiating a more advantageous peace, which they could better defend in parliament, than with reasons for desiring it less earnestly. On the contrary, they considered the opportunity most favourable, and were anxious to avoid the error with which Mr. Pitt had been so much reproached, in not having treated before the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden. The king of England, as we have seen, had come round to pacific views, influenced by esteem for the First Consul, and perhaps slightly by a feeling of irritation against Mr. Pitt. The people, suffering severely from the scarcity, fond of novelty, looked forward to the end of the war for an improvement in their condition. Reflecting men, without any exception, thought that a ten years' sanguinary struggle was quite long enough, and that they ought not, by obstinately persisting in protracting it longer, to furnish France with a pretence for further aggrandizement. Moreover, they were not free from anxiety at London concerning the preparations for an invasion, which were perceptible along the coasts of the Channel. One class of men only, those who in England were engaged in great mercantile and privateering speculations, and who had subscribed to the enormous loans of Mr. Pitt, perceiving that peace, by throwing open the seas to the flags of all nations, and particularly to that of France, would deprive them of the commercial monopoly which they enjoyed, and would put an end to the present great financial operations, were but little inclined towards the pa-

cific policy of Mr. Addington. They were wholly devoted to Mr. Pitt, and to his system of policy; they even encouraged a feeling in favour of war, when Mr. Pitt himself began to consider peace as necessary. But these rich speculators, in the City, were compelled to give way, when the clamour of the people and of the farmers was opposed to them, and above all, when the unanimous opinion of reflecting men was ranged against them.

The English ministry, therefore, was not only resolved to negotiate, but to negotiate promptly, to enable them to lay the result of their negotiations before parliament at the ensuing session, that is to say, in the autumn. They had just effected an arrangement with Russia upon advantageous terms. England had only to adjust with that cabinet a simple question of maritime law. She had made some concessions to the new emperor, and she had also exacted some from Russia, which this young inexperienced prince, anxious to satisfy the party which had placed him on the throne, and still more anxious to devote himself tranquilly to his projects of reform in the interior of his dominions, had had the weakness to allow her to extort from him. Upon the four essential principles of maritime law, which had been in dispute, Russia had abandoned two, and established two. By a convention concluded on the 17th of June, between the vice-chancellor Panin and lord St. Helens, the following stipulations had been agreed upon:

1st. Neutral bottoms were to be allowed freely to navigate between all the ports in the world, even those of belligerent nations. They were to be allowed to import every thing, according to usage, except articles contraband of war. The definition of this contraband was decidedly favourable to Russian interests; inasmuch as grain and naval stores, formerly prohibited to neutral vessels, were no longer to be treated as articles contraband of war. This was of vast importance to Russia, which produces hemp, tar, pitch, iron, masts, and corn. Upon this point, one of the most important in maritime law, Russia had advocated the liberties of commerce in general, while defending her own individual interests.

2ndly. The flag was not to cover the merchandise, unless this merchandise had been acquired by, or become the property of, a neutral trader. Thus coffee coming from the French colonies, was not liable to seizure, if it had become Danish or Russian property. It is true, that in practice, this reservation saved a portion of the neutral trade; but Russia sacrificed the first principle of maritime law, that, *the flag covers the merchandise;* and she did not maintain the noble character which she had assumed, under Paul and Catherine. The protection of the weak, which she was so ambitious of displaying on the continent, was lamentably forgotten on the seas.

3rdly. The neutrals, although allowed freely to navigate, were not, according to custom, to attempt to enter a blockaded

port, that is to say, a port *blockaded bonâ fide*, the breaking of which was attended with danger. Upon this point, the great principle of a real blockade was rigorously maintained.

4thly, and finally. The right of search, the origin of so many disputes, the proximate cause of the last league of the northern powers, was construed in a manner, but little honourable to the neutral flag. Thus, it had always been contended that merchant vessels, convoyed by a ship of war of the state to which they belonged, which, by its presence proved their nationality, and above all the absence of all articles of contraband, on board, should not be searched. The dignity of the flag of the state did not allow, in fact, that the captain of a ship, perhaps an admiral, should be detained by a privateer, provided only with a letter of marque. The Russian cabinet thought to save the dignity of the flag by means of a nice distinction. It was declared that the right of search, with respect to merchant vessels under convoy, should no longer be exercised by all vessels indiscriminately, but by vessels of war only. A privateer furnished with a simple letter of marque, was no longer to have the right to detain and question a convoy escorted by a vessel of war. The right of search, consequently, could only for the future, be exercised by one equal, upon another equal. Doubtless, by this means some inconvenience was avoided, but the ground upon which the principle rested was sacrificed, and it was so much the more discreditable to the court of St. Petersburg, as this was the very one of the four questions in dispute, for which Copenhagen had, just three months before, been bombarded, and for which Paul I. had endeavoured to excite all Europe against England.

Thus Russia had established two of the great principles of maritime law, and had sacrificed two. But England, we must recollect, had made concessions, and in her anxiety to obtain peace, had lowered some of the haughty pretensions set up by Mr. Pitt. The Danes, the Swedes, and the Prussians, were invited to give in their adhesion to this convention.

Having thus made terms with Russia, and having obtained, at the outset, some successes in Egypt, England was only desirous of concluding, through this improvement in her position, a speedier peace with France. Lord Hawkesbury sent for M. Otto to the Foreign Office, and authorised him to submit to the First Consul the following proposal: "Egypt is at this moment invaded by our troops," said he to him, "considerable reinforcements must soon reach them; their success is very probable. Nevertheless, the contest is not over, we admit it. Let us stop the effusion of blood; let us agree on both sides not to attempt the permanent occupation of Egypt, which we will both evacuate, and restore to the Porte."

While making this proposal, lord Hawkesbury asserted England's right to keep Malta, "as that island," he added, "was only to be evacuated by England, in the event of the voluntary

evacuation of Egypt by France. This abandonment being now no longer a voluntary concession on the part of France, but a compulsory act, superinduced by the events of the war, there no longer existed any reason for ceding Malta as an equivalent."

In the East Indies the English minister still wished for Ceylon, but he limited his pretensions to that island. He offered to restore the Cape of Good Hope to Holland, as well as the territories in South America which had been taken from her, such as Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. But he demanded a large island in the West Indies, Martinique or Trinidad, either one or the other, at the discretion of France.

Thus the final result of these ten years of war would be, to give England, besides Hindostan, the island of Ceylon in the Indian ocean, Trinidad or Martinique in the West Indies, and the island of Malta in the Mediterranean. The French cabinet would have, in this way, to make a fine concession to English pride, in each of the three most important seas.

The First Consul immediately replied to the propositions made by the English ministers. Great stress had been laid upon the events in Egypt to support the pretensions of the English; he, to force them to lower these pretensions, dwelt strongly upon the events which were taking place in Portugal. "Lisbon and Oporto," he replied to lord Hawkesbury, through the medium of M. Otto, "will soon belong to us, if we feel disposed to appropriate them; a treaty is negotiating at this moment at Badajoz, having for its object to spare the provinces of the most faithful ally of Great Britain. Portugal proposes, in order to ransom her states, to exclude the English from all her ports, to pay besides, a heavy contribution for the expenses of the war, and Spain appears rather disposed to consent to this concession. But every thing depends on the First Consul. He can assent to, or negative this treaty; and he is about to reject it, he is about to take possession of the chief provinces of Portugal, unless England consents to peace, and upon reasonable and moderate terms. The English require the evacuation of Egypt by the French, be it so; but let England on her side abandon Malta, let her no longer require Martinique nor Trinidad, but content herself with the island of Ceylon, a very fine acquisition, which forms a noble appendage to the magnificent empire of the Indies."

The English negotiator replied to these proposals in terms but little satisfactory for Portugal, but which confirmed what was already known, that England cared but very little for the allies, whom she had compromised. "If the First Consul should invade the states of Portugal in Europe," rejoined lord Hawkesbury, "England will invade the territories of Portugal beyond the seas. She will take the Azores and Brazil, and will provide herself with pledges, which in her hands, are of far greater value than the Portuguese continent in the hands of the French." Which plainly signified, that instead of defending her ally, Eng-

land sought to revenge herself upon this very ally, for the new acquisitions which her rival might make.

The First Consul perceived that it was necessary to assume an energetic tone on this occasion, and show the feelings which existed at the very bottom of his heart, that is to say, his determination to struggle hand to foot with England, until he should bring her to moderate terms. He declared that he never would, upon any condition whatever, give up Malta; that Trinidad belonged to an ally, whose interests he would defend even as his own; that he would not allow the English to have this latter colony; that they ought to be satisfied with Ceylon, which rendered perfect and ample the conquest of the Indies, and that, moreover, none of the contested points, with the exception of the island of Malta, was to be placed in comparison with the suffering which would be inflicted on the world, by the shedding of one single drop of that blood which was about to flow.

To these diplomatic explanations, he added the public declarations made in the *Moniteur*, with a detailed account of the armaments which he was preparing on the coast of Boulogne.

Divisions of gunboats, in fact, left the ports of the Calvados, the Lower Seine, the Somme, and the Scheldt, to proceed, by coasting, along the coast to Boulogne, and many had already succeeded in reaching that port, in spite of the vigilance of the English cruisers. The First Consul had not as yet decided upon a plan, as he did at a later period,* of a descent upon England; but he wanted to intimidate that nation, by the notoriety and extent of his preparations; and, in short, he had made up his mind to complete these arrangements, and to carry his menaces into effect, if the rupture should ultimately take place. He entered into an elaborate exposition of his views in this respect in a cabinet council, at which the consuls only were present. Having the fullest confidence in the devotion of his colleagues, Lebrun and Cambacérès, he unveiled all his thoughts to them. He admitted to them, that with the armaments actually collected at Boulogne, there was scarcely a sufficient force to attempt a descent on Great Britain, which was one of the most arduous operations in warfare; that his only object in making these preparations was to give England clearly to understand what was intended, that is to say, a direct invasion, upon the success of which he, general Bonaparte, would not hesitate to risk his life, his glory, and his fortune; that if he did not succeed in obtaining reasonable concessions from the British cabinet, his resolution was taken; he would complete the flotilla at Boulogne, to enable it to transport 100,000 men, and would embark himself in this flotilla, to encounter all the chances of a terrible but decisive blow.

* This first attempt of a flotilla, in 1801, must not be confounded with the grand naval and military preparations, known under the celebrated name of the "Camp of Boulogne," and which took place in the year 1804.

Desirous also of enlisting public opinion in England, and even throughout Europe, on his side, he followed up the diplomatic notes, which were addressed to the English ministers, with a series of articles in the *Moniteur*, which were addressed to the European public at large. In these articles, which were models of close and cogent reasoning, of his own composition, and devoured by readers of all nations, spectators of this singular scene, he flattered the present English ministers, representing them as wise, discreet, and well-intentioned men, but still intimidated by the ex-ministers, Mr. Pitt, and especially Mr. Windham. The latter, particularly, he loaded with sarcasms, as he considered him as the chief of the war party. In these articles, he endeavoured to tranquillise Europe respecting the ambition of France, and to show that his conquests were scarcely equivalent to the acquisitions which Prussia, Austria, and Russia, had made at the time of the partition of Poland; that, moreover, she had restored an extent of territory three or four-fold greater than she had retained; that England, in return, ought to restore a large portion of her conquests; that by keeping the continent of India, she remained in possession of a magnificent empire, compared to which the islands in dispute were utterly insignificant; that it was not worth while for the sake of these islands, to continue shedding the best blood of mankind; that if France, it was true, seemed to insist upon them so strongly, it was only from a sense of honour, to defend her allies, to preserve at least some harbours of refuge in remote seas: that, moreover, if England persisted in continuing the war, she had it in her power, undoubtedly, to conquer other colonies, but she possessed already more than sufficed for her commerce; that France, around the whole of her frontiers, had many highly valuable acquisitions which she could make, obvious to all the world without especially pointing them out, since her troops occupied Holland, Switzerland, Piedmont, Naples, and Portugal; and that, in short, the struggle might be brought to a more simple issue, by limiting it to a single-handed engagement between France and England. The general, in handling his pen, took care to avoid wounding the pride of the British nation; but he gave them to understand, that an invasion would be his last resource, and that if the English ministers wished to finish the war only by the extermination of one of the two nations, there was not a Frenchman who was unwilling to make a last and vigorous effort to decide this long quarrel, in a manner that would redound to the eternal glory, and everlasting benefit of France. "But why," said he, "why place the question upon this dangerous footing? why not put an end to the woes of humanity? why leave in this way, to the hazard of war, the fate of two mighty nations?" The First Consul concluded one of these articles in the following most remark-

able and most beautiful language, which, at a future period, became so painfully applicable to himself. "Happy," he exclaimed, "thrice happy are those nations, which, having attained the summit of prosperity, are blessed with wise rulers, who do not expose the many advantages they enjoy to the caprice, and the vicissitudes of fortune."

These articles, distinguished by their vigorous, nervous, and logical arguments, attracted general attention, and produced a deep sensation in men's minds. No government had ever held this open and electrifying language.

The arguments of the First Consul, seconded by very serious demonstrations upon the coasts of France, were calculated, to produce, and, in fact, did produce great effect on the other side of the Channel. The formal declaration that France would never concede Malta, had made a great impression, and the British government intimated that they were willing to give it up, on condition that it should be restored to the order of Saint John of Jerusalem; but then, in that case they demanded the Cape of Good Hope. They would also yield Trinidad, and even Martinique, if they obtained a part of the Dutch continent of America, that is to say, Demerara, Berbice, or Essequibo.

The abandonment of Malta was a step gained in the negotiation. The First Consul insisted upon neither giving up Malta, nor the Cape, nor the continental possessions of the Dutch in America. In his opinion, Malta could only be considered as an equivalent for Egypt, in case France retained that conquest; since now the question of the cession of Egypt to France could no longer be entertained, the retention of Malta by the English could not be admitted, nor any similar equivalent.

At last, the English cabinet ceased to insist either upon Malta, or the Cape as a compensation for Malta. They revived, however, their demands for one of the great West India islands, and as they could no longer venture to mention the French island of Martinique, they demanded the Spanish island of Trinidad.

The First Consul was not a whit more inclined to yield Trinidad than Martinique. The former was a Spanish colony, which would furnish the English with a dangerous foot-hold upon the vast continent of South America. He even went so far, in his honourable intentions towards an ally of France, as to offer the small French island of Tobago in lieu of Trinidad. It was not very important, but England had a great interest in it, as all the planters were English. With a feeling of noble pride, only permissible to one who had raised his country to the highest pitch of greatness and of glory, he added, "It is a French colony, this acquisition must touch the vanity of the English, who will be flattered by retaining one trophy of conquest made

over us in the colonies, and thus peace will be more easy of attainment.*

By this time, the end of July had arrived, and the month of August, 1801, was approaching.

Great activity prevailed on both sides. The preparations going forward on the coast of France were emulated on the coast of England. The militia was called out, and exercised; carriages were constructed for the conveyance of troops, to enable them to be collected more rapidly at the point menaced. The English journals of the war party held the most violent language. In some of the editorial articles, the violence of which was supposed to be encouraged by Mr. Windham, they went so far as to excite the English people against M. Otto, and against the French prisoners. M. Otto demanded his passports immediately, and the First Consul caused forthwith the most threatening language to be adopted by the *Moniteur*.

Lord Hawkesbury repaired instantly to M. Otto, entreated him to remain, and, with much difficulty, at length prevailed upon him to do so, by holding out a hope of a speedy accommodation. But the animosity of the nation seemed to be roused, and a rupture was anticipated. All the moderate men in England dreaded it, and endeavoured to prevent it. They despaired of the success of their efforts, as the First Consul would not yield, on any terms, the possessions of his allies, which the English still persisted in requiring.

But whilst he was defending so nobly the colonies of Spain, the prince of Peace, with all the inconsistency of a vain and frivolous favourite, induced his master to adopt the most unfortunate line of conduct, and released the First Consul from all friendly engagements with Spain.

It has, doubtless, not been forgotten, that M. de Pinto, the

---

* Extract from a letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to M. Otto, Commissioner of the French Republic in London:—

"20th Thermidor, year IX. (8th August, 1801.)

"With respect to America you will be guided by the positive instructions contained in my note, and I beg further to add:—

"The British government desires to retain in the West Indies one of the islands which she has recently acquired, and this under the pretext, that it will be essential to the preservation of her former possessions. Now, in no point of view can this argument apply to the island of Trinidad. Avoid, therefore, any discussion upon that point. Trinidad, by its position, would be, not a means of defence for the English colonies, but a position for the attack of the Spanish continent. The acquisition of the island, would be for the British government of a value and importance hardly to be conceived. The discussion can only fall upon Curaçao, Tobago, St. Lucia, or some other island of that class. Although these two latter are French, still this government might be induced to relinquish one, and the vanity of England may be flattered by thus preserving a trophy, as it were, of one of their conquests over us. You will not fail, citizen, to extol the value of the island, the cession of which may be consented to on our part, especially if it should be Tobago. That island belonged, not long ago, to the English, is now only inhabited by English planters, and all its connexions are English. It has a virgin soil, and its trade is capable of being greatly developed."

Portuguese envoy, had arrived at the Spanish head-quarters, in order to make submission to the will of France and Spain. The prince of Peace was eager to terminate a campaign, the opening of which had been so easy and brilliant, but which, in its further prosecution, might encounter difficulties, which would be insurmountable without the support of France. If, for instance, it should be necessary to occupy Lisbon or Oporto, the assistance of our soldiers would be indispensable. The undertaking of a simply ostentatious enterprise might become a serious affair, and require a fresh body of French troops. Even foreseeing such a contingency, the First Consul had, of his own accord, ordered 10,000 additional men to advance, which would increase the total number of French troops, now in Spain, to 25,000 men. But the prince of Peace, who had thoughtlessly summoned our troops as his auxiliaries, took alarm, in the same unreflecting manner, at their presence. Nevertheless, they had observed the most perfect discipline, and had exhibited towards the clergy, the churches, the ceremonies of religion, a reverence wholly foreign to their habits, and which general Bonaparte alone could have inspired into their minds. But now that they were actually on the soil of Spain, their presence excited apprehension to a ridiculous degree. Either Spain should not have required them to proceed thither, or, being there at her own express desire, they should have been employed to accomplish the object in view. Now, this object could not have been merely to disperse some bands of Portuguese, to obtain some few millions of contributions, or even to close the ports of Portugal to the vessels of England; it was clearly to seize upon valuable pledges, which might be used to extort from the English the restitutions which she otherwise refused to make. For that purpose, it was requisite to occupy certain provinces of Portugal, more especially that of which Oporto was the capital. This was the most effectual mode of working upon the British cabinet, by a pressure upon the great merchants in the City, who were deeply interested in the Oporto trade. The matter had been thus concerted between the governments of Paris and Madrid. In defiance, however, of every thing which had been agreed upon, the prince of Peace took it into his head to accept the conditions of Portugal, and to be satisfied, on behalf of Spain, with the cession of Olivenza, a fortified place, with a contribution of about 20,000,000 or 30,000,000 francs to France, and for the two allied powers jointly, with the closing of the ports of Portugal against all English vessels, whether merchant ships or ships of war. For such conditions as these, the campaign, just over, was perfectly puerile. It was merely a pastime, suggested to amuse a favourite satiated with royal favours, who was seeking military glory, in the most ridiculous manner, by means perfectly on a level with his idle and guilty levity.

The prince of Peace roused, in his royal masters, paternal feelings, easily to be excited in their breasts; but it must be

added that these feelings were excited either too soon, or too late. He filled them with alarm at the presence of the French —an alarm, we must again say, felt too late, and perfectly groundless, for it could not enter into the imagination of any one, that 15,000 French troops could conquer Spain, or even prolong their stay in the country, in a manner to create uneasiness. Such a course presupposed projects, the very germ of which did not even exist in the mind of the First Consul, and which were only conceived at a succeeding period, and subsequently to events wholly unexpected, which, at that time, neither he nor any one anticipated. At that moment he was absorbed in one object—to extort from England one more island, and that island a Spanish colony.

In accepting the conditions submitted by the court of Lisbon, which were confined merely to the surrender of Olivenza to the Spaniards, to the payment of 20,000,000 francs to the French, and to the exclusion of the English flag from the ports of Portugal, precautions had been taken to prepare two copies of a treaty, one to be executed by Spain, and the other by France. The prince of Peace affixed his signature to that which related to his court, which was dated at Badajoz, as all these events took place in that city. He afterwards caused it to be ratified by the king, who was on the spot. Lucien, on his part, signed the copy destined for France, and sent it immediately to Paris, for his brother's ratification.

The First Consul received these communications, at the moment when the excitement of the negotiations at London was at its greatest height. The exasperation which they caused may be easily conceived. Although the natural affection which he felt for his family, often even to weakness, prevailed with him to a great degree, he had less command over his temper with his relatives, than with other persons; and certainly, on an occasion like the present, he might well be pardoned for giving way to it. This he did in the most unrestrained manner, and gave vent to the most violent paroxysm of anger against his brother Lucien.

Still he clung to the hope that the treaty would not be ratified. Extraordinary couriers were sent off to Badajoz to declare that France refused her ratification, and the same intimation was given to Spain. But these couriers found that the treaty had been already ratified by Charles IV., and the engaged ment had become irrevocable. Lucien was quite confounded and disheartened at the perplexing, nay, humiliating position which was thus reserved for him in Spain. His brother's indignation produced in him a fit of ill-humour not uncommon with him, and he tendered his resignation to the minister of foreign affairs. The prince of Peace, on his side, became insolent. He indulged in language, which was both idle and ridiculous, when applied to a man like the one who at that time

governed France. He first declared, that all hostilities against Portugal were at an end, then insisted upon the withdrawal of the French army, and even added this very imprudent declaration, that if fresh troops should pass the frontier of the Pyrenees, their entrance into Spain would be considered as a violation of territory. He claimed, moreover, the return of the Spanish fleet shut up in Brest, and a speedy conclusion of general peace, in order to bring to a termination, as soon as possible, an alliance which was become irksome to the court of Madrid.* We ought to mention, however, that the frightful misfortune which had just befallen the two Spanish ships, had damped the spirits of the nation, and had contributed to this angry feeling, which manifested itself in a manner so intemperate and so very prejudicial to the interests of both cabinets.

The First Consul, now provoked to the highest pitch of irritation, immediately caused an answer to be sent to the effect, that the French would remain in the Peninsula until peace was signed distinctly between France and Portugal; that if the army of the prince of Peace made one single step nearer to the 15,000 French troops stationed at Salamanca, he would consider it as a declaration of war, and that if, in addition to unbecoming language, they ventured to commit one single act of hostility, the knell of the Spanish monarchy was inevitably rung.†

* Letter of the 26th of July.

† The First Consul was in the habit of sending brief and striking notes, with the view of furnishing materials to his ministers, to enable them to transmit the necessary instructions to the ambassadors abroad. The following is the note forwarded to the foreign office, to serve as the groundwork of the despatch, which was to be sent to Madrid. M. Caillard was acting for M. de Talleyrand, who was absent at a watering place:—

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"21st Messidor, year IX. (10th July, 1801.)

"Citizen Minister,—Please to desire the ambassador at Madrid to repair to that court, and endeavour to exhibit all the temper which is requisite under the circumstances. He will state:

"That I have read the note of the general prince of Peace; that it is so ridiculous, that it does not merit a serious reply; but that if this prince, bought over by England, should induce the king and the queen to take measures at variance with the honour and the interests of the Republic, the knell of the Spanish monarchy is rung.

"That my intention is, to keep the French troops in Spain until peace is made between the Republic and Portugal;

"That the slightest movement of the Spanish troops, with an intention of advancing nearer to the French forces, will be considered as a declaration of war;

"That, at the same time, I am disposed to do every thing in my power to reconcile the interests of the Republic with the conduct and inclinations of his Catholic majesty;

"That, whatever may be the consequence, I will never consent to articles five and six;

"That I am not averse to a renewal of the negotiations between the Republic and M. Pinto, with a protocol of the negotiations drawn up day by day;

"That the ambassador must endeavour to make the prince of Peace clearly

He enjoined Lucien to return to Madrid, to reassume there his character of ambassador, and to wait for further orders. This was sufficient to intimidate and check the unworthy courtier, who thus compromised with so much levity the most important interests in the world. Shortly afterwards, in fact, he wrote the most submissive letters, in order to regain the favour of the man, whose personal influence and authority over the court of Spain he so much dreaded.

Nevertheless, it was necessary to come to some decision upon the steps to be taken, in consequence of this strange and inconceivable conduct of the cabinet of Madrid. M. de Talleyrand was at that moment absent on account of his health; he was at the waters. The First Consul forwarded all the papers to him, and received in reply a very sensible letter, containing his advice upon this serious affair.

A paper war, in M. de Talleyrand's opinion, would lead to nothing, whatever triumph we might obtain by our arguments, founded upon positive engagements entered into, and promises made, on both sides. A war against Spain, besides that, it would retard the end in view, which was the general pacification of Europe, besides that it was at variance with the true policy

understand, as well as the king and queen, that words, and even offensive notes, where friendship subsists to the extent it does between us, may be passed over as mere family differences, but that the slightest act, or the slightest demonstration, would be irremediable;

"That, as regards the king of Etruria, a minister has been tendered to him, because he has no one near his person; and to govern men, some little knowledge of the art is requisite; that, nevertheless, in the expectation that he will find at Parma men qualified to advise him, I have waived this point for the present;

"That, as regards the French troops in Tuscany, it is expedient to leave them there for two or three months, until the king of Etruria can himself organise his own army;

"That affairs of state can be carried on without giving way to excitement, and that, moreover, my desire to do something agreeable to the house of Spain would be badly requited, if the king allowed the corrupting bribes of England, at the moment when we are in sight of harbour, after so many anxieties and troubles, to disunite our two great nations; that the consequences must be fatal and terrible;

"That, at this very moment, less precipitation in making peace with Portugal would have contributed greatly to accelerate peace with England, &c. &c.

"You know this cabinet; you will, therefore, in your despatch, urge every thing which may serve to gain time, prevent precipitate measures, procure a renewal of the negotiations, and at the same time produce an effect, by representing clearly to the cabinet of Madrid the very serious position of affairs, and the fatal consequences of any inconsiderate proceeding.

"Give the ambassador of the Republic to understand that, if Portugal would consent to leave the province of Alentejo in the possession of Spain until the peace, that would be a *mezzo termine*, since by that course Spain would perceive, that the strict letter of the preliminary treaty would be complied with.

"I would as soon accept nothing, as I would 15,000,000 frs. in fifteen months.

"Despatch the courier, whom I now send you, directly to Madrid.

"BONAPARTE."

of France, would be perfectly ridiculous in the present miserable state of the Spanish monarchy, with our troops in the heart of the kingdom, and its squadron at Brest. There was one much more natural way to retaliate by way of punishment; and that was to cede to the English the Spanish island of Trinidad, the last and only difficulty, by which the peace of the world was delayed. Spain had, in fact, quite absolved us from any obligation or devotion towards her. In this case, added M. de Talleyrand, we must lose time in Madrid, and gain it in London, by pushing forward the negotiation with England by the concession of Trinidad.*

* We here insert the following curious letter from M. de Talleyrand:—

"20th Messidor, year IX. (9th July, 1801).

"General,—I have just perused, with all the attention I am capable of, the letters relating to Spain. If it were our object to make it a matter of controversy, we could easily prove ourselves to be in the right, merely by referring to the words of the three or four treaties which we have made with that power during the past year; those pages would establish our case. We must see if the present is not a favourable moment for coming to some definite determination respecting the conduct we should pursue towards this scurvy ally.

"I set out with the following data: Spain, to make use of one of her own expressions, has *hypocritically* made war against Portugal; she wishes definitively to make peace. The prince of the Peace is, by what they tell us, and which I can easily believe, carrying on secret conferences with England; the Directory thought him bought over by that power. The king and the queen are at the beck of the prince; he was only a favourite, now, he is in their opinion quite a statesman, and a great military man. Lucien is in an embarrassing position, from which we must positively extricate him. The prince makes use, adroitly enough, in his notes, of these words,—'*The king has made up his mind to go to war against his children.*' This expression will tell on public opinion. A rupture with Spain is a threat perfectly ridiculous, since we have her ships at Brest, and our troops are in the heart of the kingdom. It appears to me, that this is just our position with Spain: this being the case, what are we to do?

"I now plainly perceive that, for the last two years, I have no longer been in the habit of thinking by myself, alone, unaided. Not being with you, my imagination and judgment are without their guide; therefore, I am probably about to write very miserable stuff; but it is not my fault, I am no longer completely myself when I am distant from you.

"It appears to me that Spain, which on all occasions, when peace was being arranged, has been a clog upon the cabinet of Versailles, by reason of her extravagant pretensions, has relieved us surprisingly in this particular instance. She has herself even pointed out the conduct which we ought to pursue; we can now do with England that which she has done with Portugal; she sacrifices the interests of her ally, and by so doing places at our disposal the island of Trinidad in our negotiations with England. If you should take this view of the case, the negotiation in London must be pushed forward, while at Madrid we must have recourse to diplomacy, or rather hair-splitting, taking care to carry on the discussion by fair words, by friendly explanations, by tranquillising them respecting the fate of the king of Tuscany, and by dwelling upon the interests of the alliance, &c. &c.; in one word, lose time in Madrid, and precipitate matters in London.

"To change our ambassador in these circumstances would be to attract attention, and this must be avoided, if you adopt, as I suggest, a temporising

This opinion was founded on reason, and appeared so to the First Consul. However, deeming it a point of honour to defend even an ally who had broken faith, he informed M. Otto of these new views respecting Trinidad, and evinced a disposition to make a sacrifice of it, yet not immediately, only at the last extremity, when there was no other alternative but to come to a rupture. He instructed him to attempt again to induce England to accept the French island of Tobago in lieu of Trinidad.

Unfortunately, the incomprehensible conduct of the prince of the Peace, had greatly damped our negotiator. Recent news, that of the capitulation of general Belliard at Cairo, damped him still further. Nevertheless, Menou holding out in Alexandria, still left a doubt favourable to our pretensions. To our flotilla of Boulogne was due the honour of bringing to a termination all the difficulties of this long negotiation.

The attention of the people of England had never been diverted from the preparations made on the coast of the Channel. In order to reassure them, the English Admiralty had recalled Nelson from the Baltic, and had given him the command of the naval forces stationed on that coast. These forces consisted of frigates, brigs, cutters, and light vessels of every description. The daring spirit of this celebrated English seaman inspired the hope that he would soon destroy the French flotilla by some desperate enterprise. On the 4th of August (16th Thermidor) he made his appearance off Boulogne, with about thirty small vessels. He had hoisted his flag on board the Medusa frigate, and took up his position about two miles from our line, that is to say, out of the range of our artillery, but just within the reach of our large mortars. His object was to bombard our flotilla. This was under the command of a brave seaman, endowed with a natural genius and ardour for warfare, and destined, if he had lived, to rise to the highest honours; it was the well-known admiral, Latouche Tréville. Every day he exercised his gunboats, accustoming his soldiers and sailors to embark and disembark at a moment's notice, and to perform their manœuvres together, with rapidity and precision. On the 4th, our flotilla was formed into three divisions, showing a single line of broadside, parallel to the

---

course. Suppose you were to allow Lucien to proceed to Cadiz, to inspect the armaments, and visit the different ports! During this journey, the business with England would be going forward; you would not allow England to make conditions for Portugal, and he would be back at Madrid, in time to treat definitively concerning that peace.

"I fear, General, that you will find my opinion rather smacks of the shower baths and the waters, which I take very regularly. Seventeen days hence I shall be another man, and I shall then be very happy to reiterate to you the assurance of my attachment and respect.

"CH. MAUR. TALLEYRAND."

shore, and anchored at about a quarter of a mile from the coast. It consisted of large gunboats, supported at intervals by brigs. Three battalions of infantry were on board these vessels of every description, in order to second the bravery of our sailors.

Nelson ranged a division of bomb vessels in front of his squadron, and opened his fire at five o'clock in the morning. He hoped, by an overwhelming shower of bombs, to destroy our flotilla, or at least to compel it to re-enter the port. He discharged an immense number of shells and balls during the whole day. These projectiles, cast from enormous mortars, for the most part passed beyond our line, and fell innocuous on the sands. Our soldiers and sailors, unmoved by this continued fire, which, after all, was more alarming than destructive, exhibited the most exemplary firmness, and even indulged in merriment. Unfortunately, we had no means of returning the fire. Our bomb-vessels, built in haste, could not stand the recoil of the mortars, and only fired a few ill-directed rounds. The powder, taken from the old stores in our arsenals, was of very bad quality, and did not carry the projectiles to a sufficient distance. The French crews eagerly begged that they might be allowed to advance, either to get within gunshot, or to board the enemy. But our gunboats, awkwardly built, and deficient in those requisites which subsequent experience has supplied in that branch of the service, were not easy to manœuvre against a north-east wind, which was blowing at the time. They would have drifted, by the wind and by the current, upon the English line, and to get back to the coast, would have exposed their beams to the enemy's fire, which they would have been unable to return, as their guns were placed forwards, in the bows. We were, therefore, under the necessity of remaining exposed to this shower of projectiles, which lasted six hours. Our soldiers, both ashore and on board, bore it courageously, and laughed heartily to see the shells passing over their heads. Their gallant commander, Latouche Tréville, was stationed in the midst, in company with colonel Savary, aide-de-camp to the First Consul. Thousands of shells were thrown in amongst them, and, by a sort of miracle, no one was seriously wounded. Two of our gunboats were sunk, without, however, the loss of a single man. One gunboat, the *Méchante*, commanded by captain Margoli, was completely shot through and through. This gallant officer put his crew on board other boats, and then keeping two sailors with him, made for the land, his vessel fast filling with water in every part, and ran her ashore before she had time to go down.

The English, in spite of the disadvantage of our position, and the bad quality of our gunpowder, had suffered more than ourselves. They had three or four men killed by the bursting of our bombs.

Nelson retired, boiling with rage and mortification, threatening

to revenge himself in a few days, and to return with means for our certain destruction.

Accordingly, he was expected every day again to make his appearance, and the French admiral made due preparations for giving him a warm reception. He reinforced his line, provided his vessels with better ammunition, animated the courage of his sailors and soldiers, who were fired with ardour, and quite elated with having braved the English upon their own element. Three picked battalions, selected from the 46th, 57th, and 108th demi-brigades, were placed on board the flotilla, to serve in the same way as in the battle of the 4th.

Twelve days afterwards, on the 16th of August (28th Thermidor), Nelson appeared with a naval division much more considerable than the first. Every thing gave indication of his intention to make a serious attack at close quarters. The French desired nothing better.

Nelson had thirty-five sail, a great number of boats, and 2000 picked men. At the close of the day, he ranged his boats round the Medusa, distributed his men, and issued his instructions. These boats, manned by English marines, were during the night to row towards our line, and make themselves masters of it by boarding. They were formed into four divisions. A fifth division, consisting of bomb vessels, was to be stationed, not opposite to our flotilla, a position in which they had done but little execution during the bombardment of the 4th of August, but on the side of our flotilla, so as to take it in flank.

Towards midnight, these four divisions, under the command of four gallant officers, captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, and Jones, put off rapidly towards the coast of Boulogne. A small French vessel manned by only eight men, had been placed as an advanced look-out. She was surrounded and boarded, but bravely defended herself before she struck, and the noise of her musketry served to give notice of the presence of the enemy.

The four English divisions approached as fast as oars could impel them. As soon as they were perceived, we opened a fire of musketry and grape upon them. The foremost division, that commanded by captain Somerville, was carried away by the tide to the eastward, out of its course, far beyond our right wing, which it had orders to attack. The two divisions of the centre, commanded by captains Parker and Cotgrave, rowing direct against the middle of our line of defence, were the first to reach it, about one o'clock in the morning, and manfully attacked us. The division under captain Parker, after having exchanged a very brisk fire with our line, made for one of our large brigs, which had been stationed in the midst of our boats, in order to support them. It was the *Etna*, under the command of captain Pevrieu. Six pinnaces surrounded her with the intention of boarding her. The English boldly scaled her sides, headed by their officers; but they were received by two hundred infantry soldiers,

35046

and driven into the sea at the point of the bayonet. The brave Pevrieu, having successively to deal with two English sailors, although wounded, first by a poniard and afterwards by a pike, killed them both. In a short time the assailants were thrown overboard, and a fire was poured into the pinnaces, which killed the greater part of the crews. Our boats resisted with equal gallantry the other assailants who attempted to board them, and repulsed the enemy with axes and bayonets. At a short distance, the division under the command of captain Cotgrave, bravely attacked the French line of boats, but without any better success. A large gunboat, the *Surprise*, surrounded by four pinnaces, sunk the foremost of them, captured the second, and compelled the others to sheer off. The soldiers emulated the sailors in this kind of fighting, which was perfectly suited to their lively and daring character.

Whilst the second and third divisions of the English met with this reception, the first, which was intended to attack our right wing, carried away to the eastward by the tide, as we have just seen, could not reach the scene of action till a very late hour. Making great exertions to get back from the eastward to the westward, it seemed to threaten our line of defence, and to be endeavouring to get between the land and our vessels, a manœuvre frequently practised by the English. This was, however, a consequence of their position, rather than a plan calculated upon. But some detachments of the 108th, posted on the shore, directed upon them a most effective fire. The English seamen, without being discouraged, fell upon the *Volcan* gunboat, which guarded the extreme right of our line. The ensign who commanded it, whose name was Guéroult, an energetic officer, met the boarders at the head of his sailors and of some soldiers of the line. He had an obstinate contest to maintain. Whilst he was defending himself on the deck of his gunboat, the English vessels which surrounded her, endeavoured to cut the cables, to carry away the boat itself. Fortunately, one was an iron cable, and resisted all the efforts made to break it. The firing kept up from the other French boats and the shore, at length compelled the English to quit their hold of her. The attack upon this point, was thus successfully repulsed, as well as those upon the two others.

Day began to dawn; the fourth division of the enemy appointed to bear down upon our left, having to row a considerable distance to the westward against the tide, which carried it to the eastward, did not arrive in time. The bomb vessels of Nelson, also, owing to the darkness of the night, had not done us much injury. The English were repulsed at all points, the sea was covered with their dead bodies, and a considerable number of their vessels were taken or sunk. The daylight becoming every moment stronger, rendered their retreat necessary. They retired about four o'clock in the morning. The sun appeared on the horizon as they withdrew from the scene

of action. On this occasion it was not an unsuccessful attempt, it was a positive defeat.

The crews of our vessels were highly elated; they had not lost many men, and the English, on the contrary, had suffered considerable loss. That which added still more to the delight occasioned by this brilliant action, was, that we had beaten Nelson in person, and had shown how vain were all the threats of destruction which he had publicly uttered against our flotilla.

A very different effect was produced on the other side of the Channel; and although this engagement with our vessels at anchor did not prove fully what such a flotilla could accomplish at sea, when carrying 100,000 men, nevertheless, the confidence of the English in the enterprising genius of Nelson was greatly diminished, and the unknown danger which threatened them alarmed them still more.

But the vicissitudes of this important negotiation were approaching their conclusion. The conduct of the Spanish cabinet having determined the First Consul, he at length gave M. Otto authority to concede Trinidad. This concession and the two engagements off Boulogne put an end to all hesitation on the part of the British cabinet. It consented, thereupon, to the proposed basis, reserving some questions of detail, which still stood over to be settled. The English ministers wished, in restoring Malta to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to stipulate that the island should be placed under the protection of some power, which would guarantee its independence; as they had but little reliance upon the strength of the order to defend it, even if the knights succeeded in reconstituting the order. They did not agree with us, upon the question of who should be the guaranteeing power. The Pope, the court of Naples, Russia, had each been suggested in succession, and rejected. Lastly, the form of words employed in the treaty gave rise to some difficulties. As the effect of this treaty upon public opinion would be very considerable in both countries, there was as much attention paid to appearance as to reality. England had no objection to recite in the treaty the numerous possessions which she restored to France and to her allies, but at the same time she insisted that those which were definitively acquired by her should be also specified. This demand was a reasonable one, more so than that of the First Consul, who wished that the possessions restored to France, to Holland, and Spain, should alone be enumerated, and that the silence observed with regard to the others should be the tacit mode by which England should acquire her right to them.

Besides these difficulties, not very serious in the main, others quite collateral, such as those relating to the prisoners, to the debts, to property sequestrated, and above all, to the allies of the contracting parties, and the part which should be assigned to them in the protocol, came under consideration. However, the

negotiators were anxious to bring them to a termination, and to put an end to the anxiety of the whole world. On the one side, the English cabinet was anxious to bring them to a conclusion before the meeting of parliament; and on the other, the First Consul was afraid, every moment, of receiving the news of the surrender of Alexandria, as the protracted resistance of that place still left a doubt hovering, which was favourable to the negotiation. Impatient for great results, he sighed for the day when he could pronounce to listening France a word so new, so magical, not a peace with Austria, with Prussia, with Russia, but a general peace with the whole world.

It was accordingly agreed to secure immediately the mighty results obtained, and to defer to a future negotiation the difficulties of form and of detail. For that purpose, it was proposed to draw up at once the preliminaries of peace, and, immediately after the signature of these preliminaries, to empower plenipotentiaries to agree upon a definitive treaty at leisure. Every difficulty which was not a fundamental one, and the solution of which involved delay, was therefore to be settled by the definitive treaty. In order to be more certain of bringing matters to a speedy issue, the First Consul wished to bind down the negotiators to a fixed period. It was now the middle of September, 1801 (end of Fructidor, year IX.): he gave them until the 2nd of October (10 Vendémiaire, year IX.). At the expiration of that term, he was resolved, he said, to take advantage of the autumn fogs, in the execution of his designs against the coasts of Ireland and England. This was expressed with all the regard due to the feelings of a proud and powerful nation, but in such a decided tone as left no doubt of his intentions.

The two negotiators, M. Otto and lord Hawkesbury, were honourable men, and both anxious for peace. They were desirous of it, not only for itself, but also from a natural and very legitimate ambition, to place their names at the foot of one of the most celebrated treaties in the history of the world. Thus every facility compatible with their instructions was rendered by them for the adjustment of the preliminaries.

It was agreed that England should restore to France and to her allies, that is to say, Spain and Holland, all the maritime conquests which she had made, *with the exception of the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad, which she had definitively acquired.*

Such was the form of language, adopted to conciliate the honourable pride of the two nations. In short, England retained the continent of India, which she had conquered from the Indian princes; the island of Ceylon, captured from the Dutch, a necessary appendage to that vast continent; and the island of Trinidad, taken in the West Indies from the Spaniards. These acquisitions might well satisfy the greatest craving of national ambition. She restored the Cape, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, and Surinam to the Dutch; Martinique and Guadaloupe, to the

French; Minorca to the Spaniards; and Malta to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. With regard to the last point, the guaranteeing power was to be named in a definitive treaty. England evacuated Porto Ferrajo, which, with the island of Elba, was to be again restored to the French. As an equivalent, the French were to evacuate the territory of Naples, that is, the Gulf of Tarento.

Finally, the troops of both nations were to be withdrawn from Egypt, and that province was to be restored to the Porte. The independence of Portugal was guaranteed.

If we would consider only the main points, leaving aside these minor restitutions, so much the subjects of dispute, and which neither greatly diminished nor added to the general result, the following may be stated as the effect of the treaty. In this ten years' struggle, England had acquired the empire of the Indies, without the acquisition of Egypt by France being now thrown into the scale to counterbalance it. But on the other hand, France had changed the face of Europe for her advantage: she had gained a formidable line of territory on the Alps and on the Rhine, removed Austria for ever from her frontiers by the acquisition of the Netherlands: she had wrested from that power the object which she perpetually coveted, that is to say, Italy, which had almost entirely passed under the French dominion. She had by the principle laid down in the secularisations, considerably weakened the imperial house of Germany for the benefit of the house of Brandenburg. She had signally worsted Russia in her attempt to intermeddle in the affairs of the West. She was all-powerful in Switzerland, Holland, Spain, and Italy. No power throughout the world exercised an influence equal to hers; and if England had aggrandised herself on the ocean, France, on the other hand, added the coasts of Holland, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, to her territory; countries completely subjected to her dominion and authority. These were vast means for the attainment of maritime power.

All this was secured to us by England, when she signed the preliminaries of peace in London, at the price, it is true, of the continent of India. France could well afford to consent to this. Our allies, vigorously defended by us, recovered almost all that the war had cost them. Spain was deprived of Trinidad, in consequence of her own misconduct, but she gained Olivenza in Portugal, and Tuscany in Italy. Holland relinquished Ceylon, but she recovered her Indian colonies, the Cape and the Guyanas; she was, moreover, rid of the stadtholder.

Such were the consequences of this peace, the most glorious in the annals of France. It was natural that the French negotiator should feel impatient to conclude it. The 30th of September had arrived, and some difficulties in the drawing up of the instrument still delayed its execution. All these difficulties were overcome, and at length, on the night of the 1st of October, just on the eve of the day, fixed upon as the fatal term

by the First Consul, M. Otto had the satisfaction to place his signature at the foot of the preliminaries of peace—a satisfaction, indeed, as exquisite as it was unparalleled in the history of France, for never before had any negotiator the happiness of securing equal glory and advantages to his country.

It was agreed tthat this news should remain secret for forty-eight hours, so as to allow the courier of the French embassy time to be the first to announce it to our government. This fortunate courier started from London on the night of the 1st of October, and reached Malmaison at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd (11th Vendémiaire). At that moment, the three consuls were assembled at a cabinet council. On opening the despatches, the excitement was very great; all other business was postponed; and the consuls embraced each other. The First Consul, who gladly threw aside all reserve, when in company with those who possessed his entire confidence, gave vent to the inmost feelings of his heart. So many and various results, obtained in so short a time—order, victory, peace restored to France by his genius, and by his indefatigable efforts, and all this accomplished in two years—certainly these were benefits which justly entitled him to feel very proud, and supremely happy. In these effusions of mutual satisfaction, Cambacérès said to him, "Now that we have made peace with England, we have only to conclude a treaty of commerce, and all cause for future dissension between the two countries will be removed." "Not quite so fast," rejoined the First Consul, with spirit; "political peace is concluded, so much the better; let us enjoy it. As for a commercial peace, we will make one, if we can. But I will not, upon any consideration whatever, sacrifice French industry. I remember the distress of 1786." This peculiar and instinctive regard for the interests of French industry must have been very strongly implanted in him to betray itself at such a moment. But the consul, Cambacérès, with his usual sagacity, had touched upon the difficulty which, at a subsequent period, was again to embroil the two nations.

The news was instantly transmitted to Paris, to be made known to the public. Late in the afternoon, the discharges of artillery resounded throughout the whole city, and every body inquired, what happy event occasioned these rejoicings. The people rushed to the public places, where the commissaries of the government had orders to promulgate the news that the preliminaries of peace were signed. The welcome intelligence was proclaimed the same evening at all the theatres, amidst such acclamations of joy as had not been witnessed for a long time. This joy was natural, since peace with England was, in reality, the general peace; it consolidated the repose of the continent, removed the cause of all the European coalitions, and opened the field of the whole world to the enterprise of our industry and our commerce. There was a general illumination in Paris at night.

The First Consul immediately signed the ratification of the preliminary treaty, and selected his aide-de-camp, Lauriston, to carry it to London. If the joy in France was great and universal, in England it was carried almost to a degree of madness. The news, at first concealed by the negotiators, had at length transpired, and it was found necessary to communicate it to the lord mayor by an official letter. This letter produced so much the more effect, as, a few hours previously, the report of a rupture of the negotiations was generally circulated. The people immediately gave themselves up unrestrainedly to those immoderate transports of delight, so characteristic of the susceptibility of the English nation. The stage-coaches, on leaving London, had these words chalked upon them, in large letters: "PEACE WITH FRANCE." They were stopped at every town, the horses taken out, and the carriages drawn in triumph by the people. They imagined that all their sufferings during the scarcity and high prices would vanish at once. They idly dreamt of unknown, immense, of almost inconceivable prosperity. There are seasons when nations, like individuals, wearied with hating each other, feel a desire for a reconciliation, however transient, however delusive it may be. At this moment, unhappily so brief, the English people almost deceived themselves into the belief that they loved France. They idolised the hero, the sage, who governed it, and shouted, with transport, "Long live Bonaparte!"

Such is human joy: the measure of its strength and intensity must ever depend upon our ignorance of the future. Let us render thanks to the wisdom of God, for thus closing to us the book of human destiny! How all hearts on that day would have been chilled, if, the veil which concealed the future, being suddenly withdrawn, the English and the French could have seen, in the vista of futurity, a long fifteen years of deadly hatred, a desolating war, during which both the continent and the ocean were to be deluged with the blood of the two nations! France, too, how she would have been struck with dismay, if, at the moment when she deemed herself on the pinnacle of greatness—a greatness regarded as permanent—she had read, on a leaf of the fearful book of fate the treaties of 1815! And this hero, too, so victorious, so prudent, who then governed it, how he would have been startled, struck with consternation, if, in the very midst of all his mighty deeds, he could have perceived his glaring faults; if, at the summit of the best-deserved prosperity, he could have foreseen his frightful fall, his martyrdom! Oh! yes; Providence, in its profound wisdom, has done right only to disclose the present to man; this is enough for his feeble mind; and we, who now know all, both that which happened then, and that which has been fulfilled since, let us try to envelop ourselves, for one moment, in the ignorance of the time, that we may comprehend, that we may participate in these joyful, these deep emotions.

A slight doubt still existed in London, and somewhat disturbed

the joy of the English, as the ratifications of the First Consul had not arrived, and they were apprehensive of some unexpected resolution on the part of this ruler, who was always so prompt, so proud, so exacting, in every thing relating to his country. This was a painful suspense; but suddenly it was known in London that one of his own aides-de-camp, one of his companions in arms, had arrived at the house of M. Otto, and that he was the bearer of the treaty ratified. The people being now relieved from the only doubt which restrained them, their joy no longer knew any bounds. They rushed in crowds to M. Otto's, and found him just entering a carriage with colonel Lauriston, and about to proceed to lord Hawkesbury's, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications. They instantly unharnessed the horses, and drew the carriage, with those two Frenchmen in it, to lord Hawkesbury's.

From lord Hawkesbury's the two negotiators had to proceed to the prime minister, Mr. Addington, and afterwards to the Admiralty, to pay a visit to lord St. Vincent; the people insisted upon drawing one minister in his carriage, to the house of his colleague. At length at the Admiralty, the crowd and the confusion had become so great, that lord St. Vincent, apprehensive of some accident, proceeded in person in front of the *cortége*, lest the carriage should be upset, and this extravagant joy end in some deplorable accident. Several days passed in this state of excitement, and in demonstrations of extraordinary satisfaction.

One circumstance worthy of remark is, that a few hours after the signature of the preliminaries, a courier arrived from Egypt, bringing the news of the surrender of Alexandria, which took place on the 30th of August, 1801 (12th Fructidor). "This courier," said lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto, "has reached us eight hours after the signature of the treaty; so much the better! if he had arrived sooner, we should have been compelled, out of deference to public opinion, to have demanded better terms, and the negotiation would probably have been broken off. Peace is of more consequence than an island more or less." This minister, an honourable man, was in the right. But the incident proves that the defence of Alexandria had been of utility, and that, even in a desperate cause, we should always be guided by the voice of honour, which counsels resistance for the longest possible period.

It was agreed that the plenipotentiaries should meet at the city of Amiens, an intermediate distance between London and Paris, in order to draw up a definitive treaty. The British cabinet selected a venerable and distinguished officer, lord Cornwallis, one of the most celebrated men of that period in Great Britain, to negotiate this final treaty. Lord Cornwallis had commanded the British armies both in America and India: he had been governor-general of Bengal, and afterwards lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the close of the last century. It was arranged that

lord Cornwallis should repair to Paris, to pay his respects to the First Consul, previously to his proceeding to the place fixed upon for the negotiations.

The First Consul, on his part, selected his brother Joseph, for whom his affection was very great, and who by the amenity of his manners, and the mildness of his character, was eminently qualified to act the part of a pacificator, which had been on more than one occasion assigned to him. Joseph had signed the peace with the United States at Morfontaine, with Austria at Lunéville; he was now about to sign it with England at Amiens. The First Consul thus made his brother gather the fruits which he had himself cultivated with his own triumphant hands. M. de Talleyrand, perceiving all the public and ostensible honour of these treaties devolving upon a person who was almost uninitiated in the arts of diplomacy, could not help experiencing a transitory feeling of vexation, which, although he made every effort to conceal it, did not, nevertheless, escape the invidious, and vigilant observation of the diplomatists residing in Paris, and it served for the subject of more than one despatch. But the wary minister was conscious that it was politic not to make enemies of the family of the First Consul, that, moreover, after the part properly due to general Bonaparte was apportioned to that illustrious man, if then any portion of the glory of these brilliant negotiations still remained to be allotted to any one, the European public would, only in justice, decree it to the minister of foreign affairs.

The negotiations commenced with the different States, and not yet concluded, were almost immediately brought to a termination. The First Consul understood perfectly the art of producing powerful effects upon the minds of men, inasmuch as he himself possessed great imagination. He settled at once all the difficulties with the various courts, thus endeavouring to overwhelm France with joy of all kinds, and, by means of one event following in quick succession after another, to amaze, and intoxicate her, by the extraordinary results thus rapidly developed.

He settled affairs with Portugal, and authorised his brother Lucien to sign at Madrid the conditions at first refused at Badajoz, with the exception of some insignificant modifications. He no longer insisted upon the occupation of one of the Portuguese provinces; as, the basis of the peace with England having been agreed upon since the relinquishment of Trinidad, there was no longer any motive for retaining the pledges with which he was at first anxious to provide himself. An agreement was come to, respecting the expenses of the war; we also secured some commercial advantages for our trade, such as, for instance, the immediate introduction of our cloths; and, with regard to our own products, we were placed upon the footing of the most favoured nation. The exclusion of English merchant vessels

and ships of war until the conclusion of peace was formally stipulated.

The evacuation of Egypt terminated all the difficulties subsisting with the Ottoman Porte. M. de Talleyrand concluded, at Paris, preliminaries of peace with the minister of the sultan, which stipulated the restoration of Egypt to the Porte, the re-establishment of the relations formerly existing betwixt her and France, and the revival of all the previous treaties of commerce and navigation.

Similar conventions were concluded with the regencies of Tunis and Algiers.

A treaty was signed with Bavaria, the effect of which was to replace her, with regard to the Republic, in the same friendly alliance, which formerly subsisted between this court and the ancient French monarchy, at the period when the latter extended her protection to all the German powers of the second order against the ambition of the house of Austria. It was a virtual renewal of the treaties of Westphalia and Teschen. Bavaria abandoned, in a formal manner, all that she formerly possessed on the left bank of the Rhine. In return, France promised to employ all her influence, in the negotiations for the settlement of German affairs, in order to procure for Bavaria an adequate indemnity, advantageously situated. France, moreover, guaranteed to her the integrity of her territory.

Finally, to finish this great work of the general pacification of Europe, a treaty with Russia, which established a peace *de jure*, which already existed *de facto*, was signed, after long discussions, by M. de Markoff and M. de Talleyrand. The new emperor had shown, as we have seen, less energy in resisting the maritime pretensions of England, but, at the same time, less ostentation, less peremptoriness in his manner of granting protection to the minor German and Italian States, which had been parties to the coalition against France. Alexander had never raised any difficulties with regard to Egypt, but, at all events, they had been put an end to by recent events. He no longer laid claim to the title of Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, which rendered the reconstitution of the order upon its former footing easily practicable, in conformity with the arrangements entered into with England. The only serious difference of opinion, that had arisen with Alexander, regarded Naples and Piedmont. By persisting in our views, and gaining time, the chief difficulties connected with these two States had been overcome. The evacuation of the roadstead of Tarento had just been promised to the English. Russia deemed this satisfactory, and regarded it as the fulfilment of a condition to which she was honourably pledged, namely, the integrity of the Neapolitan States. She was silent respecting the island of Elba. With respect to Piedmont, every succeeding day that the English refrained from alluding to that point had emboldened the First

Consul to refuse the surrender of that important province to the king of Sardinia. Russia expostulated, referring especially to the promises made to her upon this subject. The First Consul replied, that Russia had also promised him to maintain the maritime law inviolate, in all its purity and force, and that she had suffered England to encroach upon it. An article was agreed upon, by which they pledged themselves in a friendly manner, and with a mutual good understanding, to take into favourable consideration the interests of his majesty the king of Sardinia, and *to respect them in so far as might be compatible with the actual state of things*. This was taking a great liberty in respect to this prince, and especially that of indemnifying him one day with the duchy of Parma, or of Piacenza, as the First Consul had it then in his thoughts to do. The conduct of the king of Sardinia, his devotion to the English during the last campaign of Egypt, had deeply irritated the chief of the French government. The latter, nevertheless, had more substantial reasons to influence him than mere anger. He attached importance to Piedmont as being in his opinion the finest of all the Italian provinces for us, as it would always enable us to debouch in Italy, and to keep an army there continually. It would be, in short, for France, what the Milanese had long been for Austria.

Our views concerning the affairs of Germany had always coincided with those of Russia; there was, consequently, no difficulty in that respect.

The treaty was accordingly drawn up in conformity with these terms, in concert with the new negotiator, M. de Markoff, recently arrived from St. Petersburg. A public treaty was first signed, in which it was recited, without any condition, that a good understanding was restored between the two governments, and that they would not allow emigrants, subjects of either nation, to be guilty of secret offences punishable in their native countries. This article was aimed at the Poles on the one side and the Bourbons on the other. To this public treaty was added a secret convention, in which it was declared, that the two Empires, having acted in unison during their intervention in the affairs of Germany, at the period of the treaty of Teschen, now again combined their influence, to bring about in Germany such territorial arrangements as would be most conducive to the equipoise of Europe; that France, especially, should endeavour to procure an advantageous indemnity for the elector of Bavaria, the grand duke of Wurtemburg, and the grand duke of Baden, (this latter had been added to the list of *protégés* of Russia, on account of the new empress, who was a princess of Baden); that the States of Naples should be evacuated at the maritime peace, and should enjoy a neutrality, in the event of war; and, finally, that they should come to a friendly understanding respecting the interests of the king of Sardinia, at the

proper season, *and in the mode most compatible with the present state of affairs.*

The First Consul immediately despatched his aide-de-camp, Caulaincourt, to St. Petersburg, as the bearer of a letter to the young emperor, couched in delicate and courteous terms, in which he congratulated him on the peace now concluded, communicated to him with a sort of complacency, a multitude of details, and appeared as if, for the future, he was willing to unite mutually with him in the direction of the affairs of the whole world. M. de Caulaincourt was to replace Duroc, (who had returned in rather too much haste from St. Petersburg,) until a permanent ambassador should be appointed. The First Consul had sent to Duroc a considerable sum of money, with orders to attend the coronation of the emperor, and to represent France with becoming splendour. This letter did not reach St. Petersburg until after the departure of Duroc, who had been induced to take this step from another motive. Alexander had desired an invitation to be sent to him to attend at his coronation, but M. de Panim had not forwarded this invitation. At a later period, an explanation took place upon this subject, and the emperor, irritated at his orders not having been executed, ordered M. de Panim to retire to his estate, and appointed M. de Kotschoubey, one of the members of his secret council, in his stead. The young emperor began to get rid of the men who had contributed to his accession, and who were desirous of influencing him, in favour of an exclusively English course of policy. Every thing then portended an amicable state of relations with Russia. The seductive and flattering attentions of the First Consul only contributed to render this result the more certain.

These various treaties, which completed the pacification of the whole world, were signed about the same time as the preliminaries of London. Public satisfaction was at its height, and it was determined to give a grand fête, in celebration of the general peace. It was fixed for the 18th Brumaire. A better day could not have been fixed upon, inasmuch as it was to the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire that all these brilliant results were to be ascribed. Lord Cornwallis was invited to be present. He arrived in Paris on the 16th Brumaire (7th of November), accompanied by a great number of his countrymen. No sooner had the preliminaries of peace been subscribed, than the applications to M. Otto for passports for France increased to a surprising degree. Three hundred had been transmitted to him. These were not sufficient; it was found necessary to supply him with an unlimited number. Owners of vessels, with the object of despatching them for French commodities, and of importing English goods into France, evinced the same eagerness to obtain safe-conducts. All these demands were granted with the most perfect good-will, and

the relations between the two countries were re-established immediately, with incredible promptitude and alacrity. By the 18th Brumaire, Paris was already filled with English, impatient to visit that new France, which had become suddenly so renowned, and to see, above all, the man who was the admiration of England, and of the whole world. The illustrious Fox was one of the first who hastened to start for France. On the day of the *fête*, which was rendered beautiful by the peaceful and profound joy which reigned throughout all classes of citizens, carriages were prohibited from passing through the public streets. An exception was made in favour of lord Cornwallis. The crowd opened, and gave way with respect to the honourable and gallant representative of the British nation, who had just concluded the peace. He was astonished to find France so very different from the hideous descriptions given of it by the French emigrants in London. All his countrymen participated in the same feelings, and gave expression to them with unrepressed admiration.

Whilst this *fête* was being celebrated at Paris, a magnificent banquet was given in the city of London, and there, amid the loudest acclamations, the following toasts were proposed:

"The King of Great Britain!"

"The Prince of Wales!"

"To the liberty and prosperity of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland!"

"To THE FIRST CONSUL, BONAPARTE, AND TO THE LIBERTY AND HAPPINESS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC!"

Unanimous and vociferous shouts of applause accompanied this last toast.

France had thus concluded peace with all the nations of the globe. There was still one other peace to establish, a peace fully as difficult of accomplishment as the rest, since it required quite a different genius to that which commands in the field of battle, and was besides still more desirable, since it was to re-establish repose in the minds of men, and union in the hearts of families. This peace was that of the Republic with the Church. The moment is now arrived, to recapitulate the difficult negotiations which were in train with the representative of the Holy See upon this important subject.

BOOK XII.

THE CONCORDAT.

The Catholic Church during the French Revolution—Civil Constitution of the Clergy decreed by the Constituent Assembly—Assimilation of the Administration of Religion to that of the Realm—One Diocese established for each Department—Election of Bishops by their Flocks, and dispensing with the Canonical Law—An Oath of Fidelity to this Constitution required from the Clergy—Refusal of the Oath and Schism—Different Classes of Priests, their Character and Influence—Inconvenience of this State of Things—The Means which it furnished to the Enemies of the Revolution to trouble the Repose of Families—Different Systems proposed to remedy the Evil System of Inaction—System of a French Church of which the First Consul was to be the Head—System of strong Encouragement to Protestantism—Opinions of the First Consul on the various Systems proposed—He forms the Plan of re-establishing the Catholic Religion, rendering its Discipline in harmony with the new Institutions of France. He wishes for the Deposition of the ancient titular Bishops, a Limitation comprising sixty Sees in place of 158—The Founding a new Clergy composed of respectable Priests of all Classes; the State to have the Management of the Forms of Worship—Salaries for the Priests in Lieu of Endowments in Lands—The Sanction by the Church of the Sale of National Property—Friendly Relations between Pope Pius VII. and the First Consul—Monsignor Spina charged with the Negotiations at Paris, retards the Negotiation through the temporal Interest of the Holy See—Secret Desire to have the Legations back—Monsignor Spina feels the Necessity of Despatch—He confers with Abbé Bernier, charged to treat on the Part of France—Difficulties of the Plan proposed to the Court of Rome—The First Consul sends his Project to Rome, and demands an Explanation from the Pope—Three Cardinals consulted—The Pope, after this Consultation, wishes the Catholic Religion to be declared the Religion of the State, that he should not be required to depose the ancient titular Bishops, nor sanction otherwise than by his Silence the Sale of the Property of the Church, &c.—Debates with M. de Cacault, Minister from France to Rome—The First Consul, fatigued by these Delays, commands M. de Cacault to quit Rome in Five Days, unless the Concordat be adopted within that Time—Terrors of the Pope and Cardinal Gonsalvi—M. de Cacault suggests to the pontifical Cabinet the Idea of sending Cardinal Gonsalvi to Paris—His Departure for France and his Fears—His Arrival at Paris—His gracious Reception by the First Consul—Conferences with Abbé Bernier—Understanding on the Principle of a State Religion—The Catholic Religion declared to be the Religion of the Majority of Frenchmen—All the other Conditions of the First Consul relative to the Deposition of the ancient Titulars, the new Circumscriptions of the Sees, the Sale of the Property of the Church, are accepted, saving some Change of Terms in the Compilation—Definitive Agreement on all Points—Efforts made at the last Moment by the Adversaries of the Re-establishment of Worship to hinder the First Consul from signing the Concordat—He persists—Signature given July 15, 1801—Return of Cardinal Gonsalvi to Rome—Satisfaction of the Pope—Solemnity of the Ratifications—Choice of Cardinal Caprara as legate *a latere*—The First Consul would have wished to celebrate on the 18th Brumaire Peace with the Church, at the same Time as Peace with all the European Powers—Necessity of applying to the ancient Titulars, to obtain their Resignations causes Delay—A Demand for their Resignation addressed by the Pope to all the old Bishops, constitutional or not—Wise Submission of the constitutional Bishops—Noble Resignation of the Members of the old Clergy—Admirable Replies—The only Resistance is from the emigrant Bishops in London—Every thing is ready for the Re-establishment of Religion in France, but a sharp Opposition in the Tribunate causes new Delay—Necessity of overcoming this Opposition before going further.

BOOK XII.

THE CONCORDAT.

The First Consul would have wished that the anniversary of the 18th Brumaire, dedicated to the celebration of peace between France and the rest of Europe, should also be signalised by the reconciliation of France with the Church. He had made every effort in order that the negotiations in progress with the Holy See might be brought to a conclusion in due time, in order to admit of religious ceremonies being introduced into the national rejoicings. But it is a much less easy matter to treat with the spiritual power than with the temporal; the winning of battles is not enough for the purpose: and it is the distinguished privilege of the human mind that force is unable to overcome its energies unless attended by persuasion.

It was this arduous task of combining persuasion with force, that the conqueror of Marengo and Rivoli had taken in hand with reference to the Roman Church, in order to bring about a reconciliation between it and the French Republic.

As we have already so often said, the Revolution had fallen into excess in many things. To cause it to retrograde in reference to these matters without advancing beyond or stopping short of the desired end, was a legitimate and salutary reaction, which the First Consul had undertaken, and which, at the time, he managed to place in a most favourable light by the wisdom and ability he employed for that purpose. Religion was evidently one of the things with regard to which the Revolution had exceeded all just and reasonable bounds. In no instance was the mischief to be repaired so extensive as in this.

Under the old monarchy there had existed a powerful clergy in possession of a great part of the soil, men who did not contribute to any of the public expenses, who gave donations, only at their pleasure, to the royal treasury, who were a constituted political body, and who formed one of the three orders which, in the States General, gave expression to the national will. The Revolution had swept away the clergy with their fortunes, their influence, and their privileges; it had swept them away, and with them the nobility, the parliaments, and the throne itself. It was impossible it could have done otherwise. A priesthood,

whose members were landed proprietors, and endowed with political power, might have been suitable to the state of society of the middle ages, and have been conducive in that era to the spread of civilisation, but was an anomaly in the eighteenth century. The Constituent Assembly had done well in abolishing such a priesthood, and in substituting for it a clergy who were to be employed in religious duties alone, and who, having no participation in the government of the country, were to be paid by fixed stipends in lieu of rents from land. But it was requiring a great deal of the Holy See to accord its approbation to such changes. Had the object been to prevail with the supreme pontiff, the government should have stopped when they pensioned the clergy, and not have given his Holiness a legitimate pretext for saying, that they attacked religion itself in all that it held most immutable and sacred. The Constituent Assembly, impelled by that taste for regularity of system, so natural to the minds of reformers, did not hesitate to assimilate the administration of the Church government to that of the State. Some dioceses were too extensive, others too limited; the Constituent Assembly, therefore, wished that the boundaries of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions should be placed on the same footing as the administrative, and created one diocese for each department, and as it made all civil and judicial offices elective, it wished to make the ecclesiastical office elective also. This arrangement appeared to it, to be in conformity with the practice of the early ages of the primitive church, when bishops were chosen by their flocks. It suppressed, at the same time, the canonical institution, in virtue of which the election of bishops must be confirmed by the Pope, and on this basis was raised what was termed the civil constitution of the clergy. The men who wrought these changes were actuated by the most pious intentions. They were true believers, fervent jansénists, but narrow in their views, and addicted to theological casuistries; they were necessarily dangerous guides in the conduct of human affairs. To make their fault complete, they exacted from the French clergy an oath of fidelity to the civil constitution, a step that could have no other effect than to suggest conscientious scruples to the sincere, and a pretext to the ill-disposed among the clergy, and thus to pave the way to schism. Rome, already aggrieved by the misfortunes of the throne, was soon irritated by the prostration of the altar. She interdicted the oath. One section of the clergy, obedient to her command, refused to take it; another section consented to it, and formed, under the title of sworn (*assermenti*) or constitutional clergy, the section that was recognised by the State, and was the only one licensed to perform religious duties. Hitherto, the government had not proscribed the priests, it was content to interdict to some the administration of religious rites, and to invest others with that privilege. But the discarded priests were generally pre-

ferred by strict Catholics; conscience in matters of religion being susceptible, easily alarmed, and, above all, distrustful of power.

It inclined to those ecclesiastics who were believed to be orthodox, and who seemed to be persecuted. It held aloof instinctively from those whose orthodoxy was doubted, and who had the countenance of government. Thus were there at the same time a public form of worship and a clandestine one, the latter having more followers than the former. The party opposed to the Revolution, leaguing with the religious party, so outraged, succeeded in covering religion itself, with all the faults of the spirit of faction. This schism led to the horrors of a frightful civil war in La Vendée. The revolutionary government, in the meantime, was not idle, it did not stop at the simple prohibition of ecclesiastical functions, but proceeded ere long to persecution. It proscribed the clergy, and transported them. Next came the abolition of all forms of worship, and, in their stead, the worship of the Supreme Being. All priests, henceforward, sworn or unsworn, were treated alike, and were made to share the same death of the scaffold with royalists, constitutionalists, girondins, and montagnards.

Under the Directory this sanguinary proscription ceased. A variable line of policy, at one time inclining to indifference, at another to rigour, still kept the proscribed Church in a state of anxious suspense. The First Consul, by his power, and by the evidently good intentions he displayed towards repairing the mischief inflicted, inspiring with confidence those who had suffered, on whatever ground it might have been, recalled the ministers of religion from their hiding-places, or from exile.

Their return, however, only showed the schism that had prevailed in a stronger and, perhaps, a more disagreeable light. In order to do away with the difficulty of the oath, the First Consul ceased to exact it, substituting for it a simple promise of submission to the laws. This promise, which could not alarm the consciences of the priests, induced them to return, but had added, in a manner, new divisions to those already in existence, by creating amongst the clergy an additional class.

There were the constitutional, or *sworn* priests, legally invested with the sacerdotal functions, and in possession of the religious edifices, which had been restored to them by a decree of the consuls. There were the *unsworn* priests, who, having always refused to take the oath, and after having lived in exile, or in prison, re-appeared in great numbers at the beginning of the Consulate, who officiated in private houses, and proclaimed the worship as performed in the churches to be uncanonical. Those unsworn priests were again subdivided, into those who had not given the promise, and those who had. The latter were not fully approved of as orthodox. An appeal was made to Rome, but out of deference to the First Consul she declined to give any explanation. However, cardinal Maury, who had withdrawn

to the States of the Church, where he had been created bishop of Montefiascone, and who was the representative of the royalist party at the court of Rome, not wishing, at least just then, to favour the submission of the priests to the new government, had given his own interpretation to the Pope's silence, and forwarded disapproving letters to France, which gave fresh life to conscientious scruples.

The priests thus divided amongst themselves had, each party its hierarchy. The constitutional priests obeyed the bishops elected under the civil constitution. Some of these having died a natural, some a violent death, their places were filled up by bishops, who, not having been regularly elected, in the midst of a proscription, which struck at all forms of worship alike, had usurped their powers, or had procured an election by clandestine chapters, religious coteries, destitute of any authority, legal or moral. Thus the powers of the constitutional bishops themselves, regarded in reference to the civil constitution, were contested by some of their own body, and stamped with discredit. Among this body there were some respectable men, but in general they had lost the confidence of the strictly religious portion of the community, because they were known to be at variance with Rome, and because they had, by meddling in the religious and political squabbles of the day, lowered the dignity of their sacred calling. Several of them were violent declaimers at the clubs, and profligate in their lives. The good amongst them were sincere priests, whom jansenist fury had driven into schism.

The so-called orthodox clergy had also bishops of their own, who exercised an authority less public but more real, and highly dangerous. The *unsworn* bishops had almost all emigrated. They had repaired to Italy, to Spain, to Germany, the greatest number, however, went to England, whither they were attracted by the subsidies afforded by the British government. In correspondence with their dioceses, through the agency of grand-vicars, chosen by themselves and approved of by Rome, they governed their sees, though in exile, with the feelings that exile inspires, and in too many instances for the benefit of the enemies of France. Many of these bishops had died off in the course of ten years, but their sees were all filled by concealed administrators, deriving their power from the court of Rome.

Thus was one of the wisest and most time-honoured precautions of the Gallican church, that of administering vacant sees by the chapters, and not by the agents of the Holy See, completely rendered nugatory. The Gallican church was thus stripped of its independence, for it fell under the direct control of Rome, when it had ceased to be governed by the bishops implicated in the emigration. A very short time would have sufficed, on the demise of the few remaining emigrant bishops, to have placed the entire Gallican church under ultramontane control.

There are men, whom the moral aspect of a social community, rent by sects without number, affects but little; who affirm that the government should either treat with disdain, as foreign to its policy, or respect as sacred, all religious dissidences alike. There are, however, grounds which forbid the exercise of such a haughty indifference, to wit, when society is thereby disturbed, and disorganisation threatens to follow.

Each of these sections of the clergy endeavoured to establish its power over the consciences of the faithful. The constitutional clergy had but little power, they were merely a subject of recrimination for the Jacobins, who were in the habit of declaring, that the Revolution was at all points sacrificed, more especially in the persons of the very priests who had espoused its cause. In this particular, however, the government could have no power to dispose of religious convictions in favour of one section of the clergy or of another. But the conduct of the so-called orthodox clergy, in reference to their flocks, was subversive of all established order, its object being to alienate from the government all those who, wearied by civil dissensions, were inclined to rally round the First Consul, and, had it been possible to have aroused the bad passions that had given birth to the civil war in La Vendée, once more, it would have done so. Through its exertions, that country was still harassed by vague distrust and discontent. It kept the south, which was in a less settled state than La Vendée, in commotion; and in the mountains of the centre of France, gathered in tumultuous crowds the population around the orthodox priests.

On every side, this class of the clergy were alarming consciences and disturbing the peace of families. They persuaded all those who had been married or baptised by the sworn priests that they were not within the pale of the true Catholic communion, and that they ought to be rebaptised and remarried, if they wished to become true Christians, or abandon the state of concubinage in which they were living. In this way the social position of families was made questionable, not in a legal, but in a religious point of view. There were more than 10,000 married priests, who, hurried away by the vertigo of the day, or impelled even by terror, had sought in marriage, the gratification of passions which they were unable to control; others, an escape from the scaffold, which they purchased by the abjuration of their vows. They had become fathers of numerous families, for whom there could be no protection from public scorn, so long as the pardon of the Church was withheld from them.

The purchasers of national property, a class for whose protection the government felt the deepest interest, were living in a state of oppression and anxiety. Even on their death-bed they were exposed to perfidious suggestions, and threats of eternal damnation, if they did not consent to such arrangements

of their affairs as would strip them of all they possessed. Confession thus became a powerful weapon in the hands of the emigrant priests, for attacking the rights of property and public credit, and, in a word, one of the most essential principles of the Revolution, namely, the inviolability of the sale of national property. State policy and the laws were alike powerless in dealing with evils of this description. These were disorders which no government could afford to look on with indifference. When religious sects, springing up and spreading over a vast soil, like that of America, succeed each other in endless variety, without leaving behind them any thing more than the fleeting remembrance of ridiculous inventions or indecent practices, one can conceive that, to a certain extent, the State may remain indifferent and inactive. Society presents a deplorable moral aspect, but public order is not seriously compromised. But it was different in France in 1801, amidst the remnants of old French society. It was impossible, without incurring the greatest peril to intrust the cure of souls to inimical factions. It would have been wrong to leave in their hands the torches of civil war, with the power of applying them, whenever they thought proper, to the inflammable materials always at hand in La Vendée, Brittany, and the Cevennes. It would never do to allow them to disturb the repose of families, to besiege the bed of the dying, for the purpose of extorting iniquitous stipulations, to decry public credit, or, in a word, to shake the tenure of one entire class of property, and that the very one which the Revolution had pledged itself to maintain for ever inviolable.

The First Consul's views of the constitution of society were too just and too profound for him to be regardless of the religious disorders of France at this period; moreover, he had other motives, and these of a more exalted character, than those we have just pointed out, for interfering; if any there can be more exalted than public order and the repose of families. There must be a religious faith, and a form of worship in every human society. Man, thrown into the midst of this universe, without knowing whence he comes, whither he goes, why he suffers, or even why he exists, what rewards, or what punishments will attend the long warfare of life—beset by the contradictions of his fellow-mortals—some affirming, on the one hand, that there is a God, the great and intelligent Author of all things; and some, on the other, averring that there is no God; one man maintaining that there is good and evil, by which he is to regulate his conduct; and another, that there is neither good nor evil, but that these are only selfish inventions of the powerful of the earth:—man, in the midst of these contradictions, experiences the imperative, the irresistible want, in relation to all these objects, of adopting a fixed and unalterable belief on all these points. Whether true or false, sublime or ridiculous, a religion he must have. Everywhere, in all ages, in all countries,

in ancient as in modern times; in civilised as well as in barbarous nations, we find him a worshipper at some altar, be it venerable, degraded, or blood-stained. Whenever a country is without an established form of belief, a thousand sects, addicted to fierce disputation, as in America, or a thousand shameful superstitions, as in China, agitate and degrade the human mind; or, as was the case in France in '93, when a passing storm swept away the ancient religion of the land; we find man, who, but the day before, abjured for ever all belief, belying himself by the mad worship of the goddess Reason, inaugurated in the presence of the reeking scaffold, and thus proving his vow to have been as vain as it was impious. To judge man, then, by his ordinary and invariable conduct, he has need of a religious creed. This being granted, what can be more desirable for a civilised community than a national religion, founded on the feelings of the human heart, in conformity with pure morality, hallowed by time, and which, without intolerance or persecution, can reunite, if not all, at least the majority of the citizens, at the foot of an ancient and venerated altar. Such a creed cannot be invented; it must be the growth of ages. A sublime philosopher may found a new philosophy, which will shed its influence on the minds of men in the age over which he throws lustre. He may make men think, but he cannot teach them to believe. A warrior covered with glory may found an empire, but he cannot found a religion. In former times, sages and heroes, no doubt, have been able to enslave the minds of men, and impose a belief upon them, by asserting their own immediate relation with Heaven. In modern times, the founder of a religion would be looked on as an impostor, and, whether surrounded by terror, like Robespierre, or by glory, like young Bonaparte, his scheme would end in ridicule.

There was no need to invent a religion in 1800. A pure, moral, ancient belief was in existence; it was the old religion of Christ—the work of God, according to some—of man, according to others; but, by unanimous consent, the profound work of a sublime reformer—of a reformer commented on, during eighteen centuries, by councils, which consisted of assemblies of the most eminent men of their time, who discussed, under the title of heresies, all systems of philosophy; adopting, on each of the grand problems of human destiny, opinions the most plausible, and most suitable to society, and adopting those opinions by, what might be termed, a majority of the human race; thus, finally, producing that body of unvarying doctrine, known by the name of CATHOLIC UNITY—a doctrine, before which the mighty genius of a Bossuet and of a Leibnitz, after having long investigated all the codes of philosophy, had humbly prostrated itself. That religion still existed, whose sway had

extended over all civilised nations, had formed their morals, had inspired their songs, had furnished subjects for their poetry, their pictures, their statues; whose impress stamped all their national recollections, and whose sign was emblazoned on their banners, whether victorious or vanquished. It had disappeared for a time, during a wild tempest of the human mind, but that tempest passed, and a want of religious faith being again felt, it was found lurking in the recesses of the heart—the natural and indispensable creed of France and of Europe.

What was more obviously necessary, in 1800, than to raise up once more the altar of St. Louis, of Charlemagne, and of Clovis, which had for a brief space been overturned. General Bonaparte, who would have been ridiculous had he set up for a prophet, or the messenger of Heaven, was in the position assigned to him by Providence, for raising up again this venerable altar with his victorious hands, and leading back to its sanctuary by his example, the people that had for a time wandered from it. And nothing less than the brilliancy of his glory would have sufficed for such a task. Men of great genius, not only among philosophers, but among kings—Frederick and Voltaire—had cast contempt on the Catholic religion, and by their example gave rise to the scoffs and railleries of half a century. General Bonaparte, who in mind was the equal of Voltaire, while he eclipsed Frederick in glory, was the only man capable, by his example and deference, of silencing the jeers of the last century.

On this subject the slightest doubt never entered his thoughts. The two-fold motive of re-establishing order in the State and in private families, and of supplying the moral want of souls, had inspired him with the firm resolution of re-establishing, on its ancient basis, the Catholic religion, shorn, however, of its former political attributes, for he looked on these as incompatible with the present phasis of French society. With such motives to guide him, is it necessary that we should stop to inquire, whether he acted through the inspiration of religious faith, or through policy or ambition? Let it suffice, that he acted through wisdom, or in other words, through a profound knowledge of human nature. The rest is a mystery, which curiosity, always natural, when the conduct of a great genius is to be scanned, may try to penetrate, but which matters but little in reality.

In this respect, however, it must be observed, that the moral constitution of general Bonaparte inclined him to religious ideas. It is in proportion to the enlargement of the understanding that intelligence of mind can comprehend the beauties of creation. Intellect may perceive a plan in the vast universe, but it requires greatness of soul to behold God through His works. General Bonaparte took pleasure in discussing philosophical and religious subjects with Monge, Lagrange, La Place, men of erudition, whom he honoured and esteemed, and often embarrassed them in their incredulity by the clearness and original

vigour of his arguments. To this must be added, that brought up in an uncultivated and religious country, under the eyes of a pious mother, the sight of an old Catholic altar awakened in him the recollections of childhood; always so powerful in a sensitive and great imagination.

As to ambition, which some detractors have taken the liberty of saying was his sole motive in this matter, he had none other at the time than to do good in all things, and, doubtless, he is to be excused, if he foresaw that an augmentation of power, would reward the accomplishment of this good work. What more noble, more legitimate ambition can there be than that which seeks to found its dominion by satisfying the true necessities of a nation? The path that he had traced out for himself, apparently an easy one, since it led to the relief of an evident public want, was nevertheless bestrewed with thorns. The men who surrounded him, almost without exception, were disinclined from establishing the old religion, they were men, who, whether as magistrates, soldiers, or cultivators of literature or science, had been the founders of the French Revolution, the true and steadfast defenders of that now vilified Revolution, and those with whom it was necessary to complete it, by repairing its faults, and consecrating definitively its reasonable and legitimate results. The First Consul was thus constrained to run counter to his colleagues, his supporters, and his friends. These men, taken from the ranks of the moderate revolutionary party, had not, like Robespierre and Saint Just, shed human blood, and there was no difficulty in their disavowing any participation in the violent excesses of the Revolution, but they had been involved in the errors of the Constituent Assembly, and had exhibited an indecent levity in repeating the witticisms of Voltaire, and it was not easy to make them acknowledge that they had misconceived the most exalted truths of social order. Men of learning, like La Place, Lagrange, and particularly Monge, told the First Consul that he was about to prostrate at the feet of Rome, the dignity of his government and of the age. M. Rœderer, the most hot-headed royalist of the day, he who would have monarchy to be restored in its most complete form, and as speedily as possible, looked, however, with pain on the project of re-establishing the ancient form of worship. M. de Talleyrand himself, the assiduous promoter of every measure which could approximate the present to the past, and France to the rest of Europe, he, the coadjutor in chief, and a useful and zealous coadjutor he was, in bringing about the general peace, looked, nevertheless, coldly enough on what was commonly called the religious peace. He was certainly averse to further persecution of the priests, but galled by recollections which came home to himself, he was not at all desirous of the re-establishment of the ancient Catholic church, with its rules and discipline. The companions in arms of

general Bonaparte, the generals who had fought under his command, most of whom had never received the rudiments of a liberal education, who had been brought up amidst the vulgar jests of the camp, or some of them amidst the declamations of the clubs, were all repugnant to the restoration of worship. Although covered with glory, they seemed to apprehend that the shaft of ridicule might reach them at the foot of the altar. Lastly, the brothers of the First Consul, associating much with the literati of the day, who were still imbued with the principles of the last century, feared, for the sake of their brother's power, every thing that had the appearance of serious opposition; and not being able to see, that beyond the selfish, and, by no means enlightened, resistance of those that had access to the government, there existed a real want, which was already felt by the populace, dissuaded him strongly from what they considered an imprudent or premature reaction.

Thus was the First Consul beset with counsels of every sort. Some advised him not to meddle in religious matters, to limit himself to rescinding the persecution against the priests, and to leave the sworn and unsworn clergy to settle their own differences amongst themselves. Others, seeing the danger of indifference and inaction, pressed him to take opportunity by the forelock and make himself the head of a French church, and not leave, any longer, the immense influence of religion in the hands of a foreign authority. Others, in fine, proposed to him to urge France to Protestantism, saying, that if he set the example by becoming a Protestant, she would eagerly follow the example.

The First Consul resisted these vulgar counsels with all the force of his reasoning and of his eloquence. He had collected for his own reading a library of religious books, consisting of not many volumes, but well chosen, for the most part relating to the history of the Church, but above all, to the relations of the Church with the State; he had caused the Latin works of Bossuet on this subject to be translated for him; these he used to read with avidity in the brief intervals allowed him from the duties of business, and his genius supplying what he was unacquainted with, as it did in drawing up the Civil Code, he astonished every one by the justness, extent, and variety of his knowledge on the subject of forms of worship. According to his habit, when a thought took possession of his mind, he discussed it daily with his colleagues, his ministers, the Council of State, or the Legislative Body, with all men, in fact, whose opinion he thought it useful to reform. He refuted in succession the erroneous systems proposed to him, and did so in arguments distinct, clear, and decisive.

To the system of not at all interfering in religious matters, he replied, that the indifference so prosingly talked of by certain disdainful wiseacres, was of little account with a people whom

they had seen very lately, for instance, take forcible possession of a church and threaten to pillage it, because the remains of an actress, admired by the public, had been refused Christian burial. How, he asked, could he remain indifferent in a country which, with the pretensions of being indifferent, was so little so. "Besides," asked the First Consul, "how can I avoid interfering, when the sworn and unsworn priests are contending with each other for the religious edifices, and coming incessantly to call on the government for its intervention in ejecting those in possession and putting their opponents in their places?" He asked what course they would have him to pursue, when the constitutional clergy, already but little attended to by the religious portion of the community, should be entirely abandoned by it,—and that the clergy who had refused the oath, the only section hearkened to and followed, should have, exclusively, the entire privilege of performing worship,—as they were having in a great measure already,—and should continue such performance amidst clandestine congregations? Would it not be imperative to restore the temporal part of worship to those who were able to conquer the spiritual part? And would not that be interfering? And then the priests, whose endowments in lands the Revolution had seized on, should have wherewithal to live; and for that purpose they should be placed on the list of pensioners in the State Budget, or be allowed to organise, under the head of voluntary contributions, a large system of impost, the produce of which would amount to a sum of 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 francs (between 1,200,000 and 1,600,000*l.* sterling), the distribution of which would belong to themselves alone, perhaps to a foreign power; and possibly might be employed one day or another, without the knowledge of government, for the maintenance of the old soldiers of the civil war in La Vendée. In whatever way the subject be viewed, the government would be soon compelled, in spite of itself, to take an active part, either for the maintenance of good order, or for the disposal of the houses of worship, either in pensioning the priests, or in watching their mode of exacting payment.

It would thus have all the responsibility of government, without its advantages, without being able (which it would be by a prudent arrangement with the Holy See for securing to itself the religious administration) to bring back the clergy to the government, and enlist them in the work of reparation, to re-establish repose in families, to tranquillise the dying, the possessors of national property, the married priests, &c., in fact, all parties compromised by the part they had taken in the Revolution.

Inaction, then, according to the First Consul, was only a mere dream, besides being a subterfuge resorted to by men who had no practical notion of the *rationale* of government.

As to the idea of creating a French church independent of

all foreign supremacy, like the Church of England, and having, in place of a spiritual foreign head, a temporal one located at Paris, which could be no other than the government itself, in other words, the First Consul looked on it to be as vain as it was contemptible. What! he, a warrior, wearing sword and spurs, and doing battle, to become the head of a church, a sort of Pope, regulating church discipline and dogma! But it was sought to render him as odious as Robespierre, the inventor of the worship of the Supreme Being, or as ridiculous as Larévellière-Lepeaux, the inventor of the theophilanthropia! Who, in that case, were to be his followers? Who were to constitute his flock of the faithful? He could not, assuredly, expect it would consist of the orthodox Christians, to which class the majority of Catholics belonged, and who had an aversion from following excellent priests who had no other fault than that of having taken an oath imposed on them by the laws. The only followers he could hope to have, then, would be a few bad priests, a few monks who had run away from their convents, and were frequenters of the clubs, who, having led dissolute lives before, wished to lead them still, while they waited for the head of the new church to grant permission to the priests to marry! He could not even hope to count among his flock the abbé Grégoire, who, while he demanded a return to the primitive church, held out for remaining in communion with the successor of St. Peter! He could not even hope to have Larévellière-Lepeaux, who wanted to confine religious worship to a few hymns, and to a few flowers strewed upon an altar! Was such the church of which they wanted to make him the head! Was that the part to be played by the conqueror of Marengo and Rivoli, the restorer of social order! Yet was this project proposed to him by the jealous supporters of liberty! But supposing that the project might succeed, which, by the way, was impossible, and that to his already immense temporal power the First Consul should unite the spiritual power; he would become the most formidable of tyrants, and be master of both body and soul in as great a degree as the sultan of Constantinople, who is at one and the same time head of the state, of the army, and of the religion. Moreover, the hypothesis was absurd; he would be a tyrant, open to derision, for he could succeed only in producing a schism, the most silly of all. He, whose wish was to be the pacificator of France and of the world, to terminate all political and religious divisions, was he to become the originator of a new schism, a little more absurd, and not less dangerous, than the preceding ones! "Yes! doubtless," said the First Consul, "a Pope I must have, but he must be a Pope who will approximate men's minds to each other instead of creating divisions, who will reunite them and give them to the government sprung from the Revolution, as a price for the protection that he shall have obtained from it. And for this

purpose I must have the true Pope, the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Pope, whose seat is at the Vatican. With the French armies and some deference, I shall always be sufficiently his master. When I shall raise up the altars again, when I shall protect the priests, when I shall feed them and treat them as ministers of religion deserve to be treated in every country, he will do what I shall ask of him, through the interest which he will have in the general tranquillity. He will calm men's minds, reunite them under his hand, and place them under mine. Short of this, there is only a continuation and an aggravation of the desolating schism which is preying on us, and for me an immense and indelible ridicule."

As to the idea of urging France to Protestantism, it appeared to the First Consul more than ridiculous, it was odious to him. In the first place, he thought he could not succeed any better by it. In his opinion persons were wrong in fancying that in France one could do whatever one wished. It was an error by no means creditable to those who committed it, for they were supposing France to be without conscience and without opinion. He, himself, said some, could do whatever he wished; "Yes," replied he, "but only with regard to the real and sensibly felt wants of France." She had been in deep disquiet, and he had brought her to the most perfect calm; he had found her a prey to anarchists, who no longer knew how to defend her against foreign aggression, and he had dispersed these anarchists, re-established order, and driven far from their frontiers the Austrians and the Russians; given the peace for which she was so eager; he had put an end, in a word, to the scandal of a weak and licentious government: was it so very astonishing that he should have been allowed to do such things? Again, quite recently, the opposers of the tribunal had wished to refuse him the means of clearing the high roads of the brigands who infested them! Yet, with that fact before them, persons pretended that he could do whatever he pleased! It was an error. He had power according to the wants and the opinions at the time predominant in France, but nothing more. He could use it better, more strenuously, than another, but he should be powerless against the actual movement of opinion. This movement inclined to the re-establishment of all things essential to society: religion was the first. "I am very powerful at present," exclaimed the First Consul; "what then? were I to wish to change the old religion of France, she would set herself against me, and conquer me. Do you know when the country was hostile to the Catholic religion? It was when the government, in coalition with it, used to burn books and send to the wheel the Callas and the Labarres; but, rely on it, were I to become the enemy of Religion, the whole country would join her. I should change the indifferent into believers, into sincere Catholics. I should, perhaps, be a little less jeered for wishing to urge on to Protestantism than if I set myself up as

patriarch of a Gallican Church, but I should soon become the object of public hatred. Is Protestantism the old religion of France? Is it the religion which, after long civil wars, after a thousand fights, has triumphed lastingly, as most suitable to the manners, to the genius of our nation? Is it not evident that it is violence to impose one's opinions on a people instead of their own, to create for them tastes, usages, even recollections which they have not. The principal charms of a religion are its recollections. For my part," said the First Consul, one day to one of those with whom he was in conversation, "when at Malmaison, I never hear the sound of the church bell in the neighbouring village without emotion; and what emotion could be created in France by Protestant meeting-houses, which were not frequented in childhood, and whose cold and stern aspect so badly accords with the manners of our nation! It may be thought, perhaps, that it is an advantage not to be dependent on a foreign head. It is an error. Everywhere, and for all things, there must be a head. There is no institution more to be admired than that which maintains unity in faith, and prevents, at least as much as is possible, religious dissensions. There can be nothing more odious than a crowd of sects disputing with one another, interchanging invectives, coming to open contention with arms in their hands, if they be in their first excitement, or, if they have got the habit of living together, looking at each other with a jealous eye, forming in the State coteries which stand by one another, urge on their partisans, keep aloof those of rival sects, and give the government embarrassments of every sort. The bickerings of sects are the most insupportable that I know of. Dispute is the province of science; it animates it, sustains it, and leads it to discoveries. To what does dispute in religious matters lead, if not to uncertainty and to the destruction of all faith? Moreover, when the activity of the mind is directed to theological controversies, these controversies are so absorbing that they turn the thoughts of man from all useful research. Seldom do you find combined together great theological controversy with great mental operations. Religious quarrels are either cruel and sanguinary, or dry, barren, and bitter; there are none more odious than they. Inquiry in regard to science, faith in matters of religion, that is the true, the useful course. The institution which maintains unity of faith, that is to say the Pope as guardian of Catholic unity, is an admirable institution. The reproach of being a foreign sovereign is made against this head of the Church. True, he is a foreign sovereign, and we ought to thank Heaven for it. What! in the same country can one picture to himself a like authority conjoined with the government of the State? United to the government, this authority would be the despotism of the sultans; were it separate from, perhaps hostile to the government, it would produce a frightful, an intolerable rivalry. The Pope is outside Paris, and well it is so;

he is neither at Madrid nor at Vienna, and that is why we bear with his spiritual authority. Vienna and Madrid congratulate themselves for the same reason. Do you imagine that if he were at Paris the Viennese or Spaniards would consent to receive his decisions? We are then lucky that he is not a resident amongst us, and that, while residing away from us, he does not take up his abode amongst rivals; that he dwells in that old Rome, far from the hand of the emperors of Germany, far from that of the kings of France, or the kings of Spain, holding the balance between the Catholic sovereigns, inclining always a little to the side of the strongest, but he soon recovers his attitude, if the stronger becomes an oppressor. Centuries have brought this about, and have done it well. For the government of souls, it is the most beneficent institution imaginable. 'I do not," added the First Consul, "maintain these opinions through the positiveness of a devotee, but from reason. Hear me!" said he one day to Monge, whom he esteemed most highly among the *savans* of the day, and whom he had constantly with him, "religion such as mine is very simple. I look at this universe, so vast, so complex, so magnificent, and I say to myself, that it cannot be the result of chance, but the work, however intended, of an unknown Omnipotent Being, as superior to man as the universe is to the finest machines of human invention. Search, Monge, obtain the assistance of your friends, the mathematicians and the philosophers, you will not find a more powerful or a more decisive argument, and whatever you may do to oppose it, you will not weaken it. But this truth is too succinct for man; he wishes to know regarding himself, regarding his future, a crowd of secrets which the universe does not disclose. Allow religion to tell him all which he feels the want of knowing, and respect her disclosures. It is true, that what one class of religionists advance is contradicted by others. For my part, I come to conclusions different from those of M. de Volney. Inasmuch as there are different religions which naturally contradict each other, he draws a conclusion against all; he puts forward that all are bad. Now I should rather find them all good, all, at bottom, say the same thing. They are wrong only when they wish to proscribe each other; but that is what must be hindered by good laws. The Catholic religion is that of our country, that in which we were born; she has a government profoundly constructed, which obviates disputes as much as it is possible to obviate the tendency of man to disputation; that government is away from Paris, and we should felicitate ourselves that it is so; it is not at Vienna, it is not at Madrid, it is at Rome, and therefore should be acceptable. If, next after the institution of the papacy, there be any thing approaching it in perfection, it is the relation to the Holy See of the Gallican church, subject to it, yet independent of it, at ore and the same time. Catholic

unity and Bossuet's articles form, conjoined, the true form of religious government. It is that which we must re-establish. As to Protestantism, it has a right to the most firm protection of government: those who profess it have an absolute right to an equal share in social advantages; but it is not the religion of France. Ages have decided on it. If you propose to the government to make it prevail, you propose an act of violence and an impossibility. Besides, what is more hideous than schism? What can weaken a nation more? Of all civil wars, which penetrates the heart most deeply; which troubles families the most painfully; it is a religious war. We must put an end to that. We are at peace with Europe; let us maintain it as long as we shall be able, but religious peace is the most urgent of all. That being concluded, we have nothing more to apprehend. It is doubtful whether Europe will let us remain long in tranquillity, or that she will be satisfied to see us always as powerful as we are; but, when France shall be united as one man, when the Vendéans and the Bretons shall march in our armies with the men of Burgundy, Lorraine, and Franche Comté, we shall have nothing more to fear from Europe, were she to come against us with all her combined powers."

Such were the conversations held daily by the First Consul with his intimate advisers, with MM. Cambacérès and Lebrun, who were of his opinion, with MM. de Talleyrand, Fouché, Roderer, who were of contrary opinions to his, with a crowd of members of the Council of State and of the Legislative Body, whose ideas in general differed from his. In these discussions, he spoke with unexampled warmth and perseverance of purpose. He saw nothing more useful, more urgent, than to put an end to religious differences, and applied himself to it with that ardour which he displayed in things that he looked on as of pre-eminent importance.

He had decided on his plan, which was simple, wisely conceived, and which has been successful in terminating the religious differences of France; for the unhappy disputes, which the First Consul, when emperor, had at a later period with the court of Rome, occurred between him, the Pope, and the bishops, and never affected the religious peace re-established amongst the people. There never sprung up again into existence, even when the Pope was a prisoner at Fontainebleau, two forms of worship, two sections of clergy, or two classes of the faithful.

The First Consul formed the project of reconciling the French Republic and the Roman Church by treating with the Holy See, on the very basis of the principles laid down by the Revolution. No longer was there to be a clergy endowed with political power; no longer a clergy having landed property; the thing would have been anomalous in 1800. A clergy solely de-

voted to the performance of worship, paid by a stipend from the government, appointed by it, and the appointment ratified by the Pope; a new revision of the dioceses, which were to consist of sixty sees, instead of the 158 that formerly existed on the territory of old and new France; the regulation of the forms of worship transferred to the civil authority, the jurisdiction over the clergy to the Council of State, instead of the parliaments, since abolished—such was the plan of the First Consul. It was the chief constitution decreed in 1790, with modifications that would render it acceptable to Rome; that is to say, with bishops nominated by the government, and confirmed by the Pope, in place of bishops elected by their flocks, together with a general promise of submission to the laws, instead of the oath taken by the different religious communities—an oath which had served as a pretext for ill-disposed or timorous priests to excite scruples of conscience; it was, in a word, the true reform of worship—the reform to which the Revolution should have confined itself, in order to render it agreeable to the Pope—a circumstance not to be despised, for every religious establishment was impossible without a good understanding with Rome.

It has been said, that a matter of the greatest importance was omitted; namely, to require that bishops nominated by the civil power should be accepted by the Pope, whether he would or would not. In such a case, the government of Rome would have been seriously weakened—a matter not at all desirable. The civil power, in nominating a bishop, indicates the subject in whom it recognises, with the moral qualities of a pastor, the political qualities of a good citizen, who respects, and will cause to be respected, the laws of the country. It belongs to the Pope to say whether, in this subject, he recognises an orthodox priest who will teach the true doctrines of the Catholic Church. To wish to confine the period of delay to some months, after which the ratification by the Pope should be considered as granted, would have been to force the ratification itself, to deprive the Pope of his spiritual authority, and to renew no less than the memorable and terrible quarrel of investitures. In matters of religion, there are two authorities, to wit, the civil authority of the country where the religion is practised, charged to watch over the maintenance of the laws and the established powers; and the spiritual authority of the Holy See, charged with watching over the maintenance of unity of faith. It is needful that both should concur in the selection of the clergy. The religious authority of the Holy See sometimes refuses, it is true, to ratify the appointment of the bishops selected; it makes use of this means to force the temporal power. The like has been seen to have occurred, and it is an abuse, though fleeting, yet inevitable. The civil authority, also, may stand back, and that has been seen under Napoleon him-

self, that most enlightened and most courageous restorer of the ancient Catholic Church.

The plan of the First Consul left nothing more to be desired for the definitive establishment of worship; but it was necessary that he should give his mind to the transition, that is to say, the passage from the present state to the approaching one about to be created. What was he to do regarding the sees as they stood? What arrangements were to be made with ecclesiastics of every sort, bishops or simple priests, some sworn and attached to the Revolution, performing worship publicly in the churches, others unsworn, who were emigrants, or had returned from emigration, exercising by stealth the functions of their ministry, and the greater part hostile to his government? A system occurred to the mind of general Bonaparte, the adoption of which was an immense difficulty at the court of Rome; for, during eighteen centuries, the Church had never done what was about to be proposed to her. This new system was to abolish all existing dioceses. For that purpose, the former bishops, still living, were to be applied to, and the Pope was to demand of them their resignation. If they refused it, the Pope was to pronounce their deposition; and, when a *tabula rasa* should thus have been made, sixty new dioceses were to be traced out on the map of France, forty-five of which were to be bishoprics, and fifteen archbishoprics. To fill them, the First Consul was to nominate sixty prelates, taken indiscriminately from among the sworn and unsworn priests; but rather from the latter, who were the most numerous, were held in most consideration, and were most beloved by the faithful. He would choose both from among ecclesiastics worthy of the confidence of government, respectable from their morals, and reconciled to the French Revolution. These prelates, nominated by the First Consul, were to be instituted by the Pope, and at once to enter on their duties, under the surveillance of the civil authority and of the Council of State.

A salary, in proportion to their wants, was to be allotted to them from the Budget of the State. But, in return, the Pope was to recognise as valid the alienation of the Church property, to interdict the suggestions which the priests were in the habit of making at the bedside of the dying; to reconcile to Rome the married clergy; to assist the government; in a word, in putting an end to all the calamities of the period.

This plan was a complete one; and, with some exceptions, excellent for the present as well as for the future. It reorganised the Church, as much as possible, on the same model as that of the State; it fused down all individual peculiarities, selecting from all parties wise and moderate men, who valued the public good above their revolutionary or religious stubbornness. But we shall presently see how great is the difficulty of executing a good work, even when it is necessary, even when it

is a real and pressing want; for, unfortunately, though it be a want, it does not result from it that it presents a clear, evident notion, unsusceptible of being contested.

At Paris, there was the party of scoffers—disciples still living of the philosophy of the eighteenth century; old Jansenists, who had become constitutional priests, and finally, generals, imbued with vulgar prejudices: this was the obstacle on the part of France. But at Rome, there was fidelity to antique precedents; the fear of touching dogma if discipline were altered; religious scruples, sincere or affected; above all, antipathies to our Revolution; and, in particular, a sort of complaisance with regard to the French royalist party, which was composed of emigrant priests or nobles, some residing at Rome, others in correspondence with her, all passionate enemies of France, and of the new order of things beginning to be established in it: this was the obstacle on the part of the Holy See.

The First Consul persisted in his plan with invincible firmness and patience, during one of the longest and most difficult negotiations known in the history of the Church. Never had the temporal and spiritual powers met under more important circumstances; never had they been more worthily represented.

That young man, so sensible, so profound in his views, but so impetuous in his will—that young man, who governed France, found himself, by a singular design of Providence, placed on the stage of the world, in presence of a pontiff of rare virtue, of physiognomy and character angelic, but of a tenacity capable of braving martyrdom, where he thought that the interests of the Faith, or those of the court of Rome, were compromised. His countenance, animated, yet mild, told the elevated sensibility of his soul. About sixty years old, weak in health, though he lived to an advanced age, holding down his head and stooping, gifted with a keen and penetrating look, his language graceful and affecting, he was the fit representative not, more of that imperious religion which, under Gregory VII., commanded, and deserved to command, barbarous Europe, than of that persecuted religion, which, having no longer in its hands the thunderbolts of the Church, was unable to exercise on men any other power than that of mild persuasion.

A secret charm attached him to general Bonaparte; they had both met, as we have said elsewhere, during the wars of Italy, and, in place of those ferocious warriors, spawned by the French Revolution, who were depicted in Europe as profaners of the altar and assassins of emigrant priests, Pius VII., at that time bishop of Imola, had found a young man full of genius, speaking, like himself, the Italian language, displaying the most moderate sentiments, maintaining order, causing the temples to be respected, and, far from persecuting the French priests, making use of his power to oblige the Italian churches to take them,

in and support them. Surprised and delighted, the bishop of Imola restrained the spirit of insubordination of the Italians of his diocese, and repaid general Bonaparte the services which his Church had received from him. The impression produced by this first acquaintance was never effaced from the heart of the pontiff, and influenced his whole conduct towards the general, when he became Consul and Emperor: a striking proof that in all things, great or little, a good turn is never lost. In fact, at a later period, when the conclave was assembled at Venice, to elect a successor to Pius VI., who died a prisoner at Valentia, the remembrance of the first acts of the general of the army of Italy had influenced, in a manner we may call providential, the selection of the new Pope.

It will be remembered that, at the very time when Pius VII. was preferred by the conclave, in the hope of finding in him a conciliator, who would reconcile Rome with France, and perhaps put an end to the misfortunes of the Church, the First Consul had gained the battle of Marengo, had become master of Italy and ruler of Europe, and had sent an emissary, the nephew of the bishop of Vercelli, to announce his intentions to the newly-elected pontiff. He sent him word, that, pending ulterior arrangements, peace should exist between France and Rome *de facto*, on the footing of the treaty of Tolentino, signed in 1797; that there should be no more mention of a Roman republic, the invention of the Directory; that the Holy See should be re-established, and recognised by the French, as in ancient times. As to the question of knowing whether the three great provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, were to be restored to the Church, not a word was said. But the Pope was replaced on his throne, and had peace. All the rest he left to Providence. The First Consul had, moreover, commanded the Neapolitans to evacuate the Roman States, which they had, in fact, evacuated, saving the environs of Benevento and Ponte Corvo. Still more, in all the movements of his armies around Naples and Otranto, the First Consul had given orders to respect the Roman States. He had even sent Murat, who commanded the French army in Lower Italy, to bend his knee at the foot of the papal throne. Monsignor Gonsalvi had then guessed aright, and he was amply rewarded for it; for, on his arrival at Rome, the Pope appointed him Cardinal Secretary of State, first minister of the Holy See, a post which he held during the greatest part of the pontificate of Pius VII. It was in the train of these, in some sort miraculous events, that the Pope, at the request of the First Consul, sent Monsignor Spina, a keen, devout, greedy Genoese priest, to Paris, for the purpose of treating on all matters, political as well as religious. At first, Monsignor Spina had assumed no official title, so much did the holy father, notwithstanding his liking for general Bonaparte, notwithstanding his ardent desire

for an approximation, dread to avow his relations with the French Republic. But soon, when he saw the ministers of Prussia and of Spain, who were already in Paris, closely followed by those of Austria, Russia, Bavaria, Naples, those, in fact, of all the courts, the pontiff no longer hesitated, and allowed Monsignor Spina to assume an official character, and to avow the object of his mission. The French emigrant party made a great outcry, and tried useless efforts to hinder, by its remonstrances, the approximation of the Church to France, knowing well that if it lost religion as a means of keeping up agitation, it would soon lose its best arm. But Pius VII., although chagrined, nay, sometimes intimidated by these remonstrances, showed himself decided to place the interests of religion and of the Holy See above all consideration of party. One single reason slackened a little his excellent resolutions; it was the vague, and by no means wise, hope of recovering the Legations, lost at the time of the treaty of Tolentino.*

M. Spina, being now in Paris, had orders to gain time, in order to see if the First Consul, as master of Italy, and having the power of disposing of it as he pleased, would entertain the lucky thought of restoring the Legations to the Holy See. An expression which was frequently in the mouth of the First Consul had given rise to more hope than he intended to convey by it. "Let the holy father," said he, "put the utmost confidence in me, let him cast himself into my arms, and I will be for the Church another Charlemagne." "If he be a new Charlemagne," replied those priests, who knew but little of the affairs of the age, "let him prove himself to be so by restoring to us the patrimony of St. Peter." Unfortunately, they were out in their reckoning, for the First Consul thought he had done a great deal in re-establishing the Pope at Rome, in restoring to him, with his pontifical throne, the Roman State, in offering to treat with him for the re-establishment of Catholic worship; and, in fact, he had done a great deal, the state of opinion in France and that in Italy being considered. If the French patriots, still full of the ideas of the eighteenth century, saw with little satisfaction the approaching re-establishment of the Catholic Church,

* There does not exist a more curious negotiation, or one more deserving of meditation, than that of the Concordat. There does not exist one in which the archives of France are richer in documents; for, besides the diplomatic correspondence of our agents, and above all the abbé Bernier's own correspondence, we possess that of Monsignor Spina and cardinal Caprara with the Pope and cardinal Consalvi. The last has remained in our hands in virtue of an article of the Concordat, by which the archives of the Roman legation, in case of a rupture, were to remain in France. The letters of Monsignor Spina and cardinal Caprara, written in Italian, form one of the most curious monuments of the time, and afford of themselves the secret of the religious negotiations of that period, a secret still very imperfectly known at the present day, even after the divers works published on this matter.

the Italian patriots saw with despair the re-erection of priestly government over them. It was then impossible for the First Consul to extend his complaisance to the length of restoring the Legations to the Holy See, which Legations could not be of any use in supporting clerical government, and which were, besides, a promised portion of the Cisalpine Republic. But the court of Rome, feeling itself distressed since it had been deprived of the revenues of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, reasoned otherwise. As to the rest, the Pope, who, in the midst of the pomp of the Vatican, lived like an anchorite, thought less of this worldly interest than cardinal Gonsalvi, and cardinal Gonsalvi less than Monsignor Spina. The last walked with stealthy step in the negotiation, hearkening to all that was said to him regarding religious questions, having the air of attaching exclusive importance to those, and yet, by some random expressions, dropped from time to time on the poverty of the Holy See, trying to bring about the introduction of the question of the Legations. He had not succeeded in making his hints understood, and was protracting matters, in trying to obtain something that might answer the false hopes imprudently indulged in by his court.

To treat with Monsignor Spina, the First Consul had made choice, as we have said before, of the celebrated abbé Bernier, the pacificator of La Vendée. This priest, a simple curé in the province of Anjou, unadorned with the externals which a careful education imparts, but gifted with a profound knowledge of mankind, of superior prudence, long exercised amidst the difficulties of civil war, very well read in canonical matters, was the principal author of the re-establishment of peace in the provinces of the West. He was fond of this peace, because it was his work, and was naturally desirous of every thing that could strengthen it, and looked on the approximation of France to Rome as one of the surest means of rendering it complete and definitive. Nor did he cease from addressing to the First Consul the most earnest entreaties to hasten the negotiations with the Church. Furnished with his instructions, he conveyed to the archbishop of Corinth the proposals of the French government, already put forward: viz., resignation of their sees imposed on all former titular bishops; a new remodelling of dioceses; sixty sees instead of 158; the formation of a new body of clergy, composed of ecclesiastics of all parties; the nomination of this clergy by the First Consul and their institution by the Pope; a promise of submission to the established form of government; salaries paid from the State budget; a renunciation of Church property, and a complete recognition of the right of selling that property; superintendence of the forms of worship to be allowed to the civil authority represented by the Council of State; finally, the pardon of the Church for the married priests, and their re-admission to the Catholic communion.

Monsignor Spina was loud in his language, on hearing these conditions put forward, he characterized them as exorbitant, as contrary to the faith, and held up that the Pope would never consent to them. He, first of all, required that in the preamble of the Concordat the Catholic religion should be declared the *Religion of the State* in France, that the consuls should make a public profession of it, and that the laws and acts contrary to this declaration of a *State Religion* should be abrogated.

As to the new re-construction of the dioceses, he admitted that the number of sees was great, but he pretended that the Pope had not the right to depose a bishop, that none of his predecessors had dared to do so, in the history of the Roman Church, and that if his holiness allowed such an innovation, he would create a second schism directed this time against the holy father himself; that all he could do on this subject was to have an amicable understanding with the First Consul; that those amongst the former bishops who should display good feeling towards the French government should be merely and simply reinstalled in their dioceses, or, at least, in the diocese corresponding to that which they had formerly occupied; that those, on the other hand, who had conducted themselves, or were conducting themselves still, in a manner not meriting the confidence of this government, should be laid aside, and, till their deaths, certainly not far off, considering their great age, administrators, chosen by the Pope and the First Consul, should govern their sees.

Monsignor Spina, then, did not entertain the idea of forming a new clergy, taken from all classes of priests, and from all parties, unless to fill the vacant sees. Still more, he did not wish that the constitutional priests should participate in it, unless they should make one of those solemn recantations, which are a triumph for Rome, and an indemnification for the pardon which she grants.

In regard to the nomination of bishops by the head of the Republic, and their institution by the Pope, there was but little difficulty. The point naturally set out from was the principle that, in treating with Rome, the new government should have all the prerogatives of the old government, and that the First Consul should be considered, in every particular, as the kings of France had been. Hence the nomination of the bishops was his right. Yet, the post of First Consul, at least for the nonce, was elective; general Bonaparte, now invested with that dignity, was a Catholic, but his successors might not be so; and, at Rome, it was not allowed that a Protestant sovereign could nominate bishops. Monsignor Spina demanded that this exception should be looked to.

Every thing regarding the curés was settled. They were to

be nominated by the bishops, with the approval of the civil authority.

The promise of submission to the laws was admitted, without entering into the precise terms.

The Pope's sanction of the sales of Church property was a stumbling-block to the Roman negotiator. He acknowledged the absolute impossibility of recalling those sales; but demanded that the Holy See should be spared a declaration which might imply a moral approval of what had taken place on that head. He conceded a renunciation of all ulterior inquiry, while he refused the formal recognition of the right of alienation. "This property," said Monsignor Spina, "known by the names *Vota fidelium*, *patrimonium pauperum*, *sacrificia peccatorum*, the Church herself had not the power to alienate. However, she can renounce the prosecution of its recovery." As an indemnification, he demanded a restitution of the domains not yet alienated, and that the dying should have the power of making wills in favour of religious establishments, which implied a renewal of property in mortmain, and was a recommencement of the old order of things, namely, that of a clergy endowed with lands. Finally, the pardon of the married priests, and their reconciliation with the Church, was an affair of indulgence, easy, on the part of the court of Rome, which is always disposed to forgive, when the fault is acknowledged by him who has committed it. Still, she excepted from the pardon two classes of priests, to wit, former friars, who had made certain vows, and bishops. This was not the way to acquire for the Holy See the good wishes of the minister of foreign affairs, M. de Talleyrand.

These pretensions of the court of Rome, although they did not imply a real impossibility of coming to an understanding with the French government, showed a glimpse, nevertheless, of serious difference of opinion.

The First Consul felt this, and showed great impatience at it. He had had several interviews with Monsignor Spina, and had declared to him, in person, that he would never depart from the fundamental principle of his project, which consisted in making a *tabula rasa*, in forming new diocesan arrangements and a new clergy, in deposing the former bishops, and selecting their successors from all classes of priests. He had told him, that the amalgamation of honest and wise men of all parties was his principle of government; that he would apply that principle to the Church as well as to the State; that it was the only way left him of putting an end to the troubles of France, and that he would persist in it undeviatingly.

The abbé Bernier, who, to the very palpable ambition of being the principal instrument in the re-establishment of religion, joined a sincere love of whatever was good, addressed the most

earnest entreaties to Monsignor Spina to smooth the difficulties laid in the way by the court of Rome, against the project of the First Consul. "To declare the Catholic religion," said he, "*the Religion of the State*, was impossible, was contrary to the ideas prevalent in France, and would never be admitted by the Tribunate and the Legislative Body." In place of such declaration, on his view of it, the mention of a fact might be substituted, namely, that the Catholic religion was that of the majority of Frenchmen. The mention of this fact was of as much use as the wished-for declaration. To insist on an impossibility, rather through pride than principle, was to compromise the true interest of the Church. The First Consul might assist in person at the solemn rites of worship, and the presence of a man like him at these ceremonies was a great act; but it was necessary to renounce the demand of his going through certain forms, such as confession and communion, that went beyond the bounds within which it was fit he should confine himself with regard to the French public. It was needful to win back opinion, and not to shock it, above all, not to afford it subjects for laughter. The demand of resignation of their sees, addressed to the former bishops, was quite simple; it was a consequence of the step which they had taken in regard to Pius VI., in 1790. At that period, the French prelates, in order to make their resistance seem to arise from anxiety for the faith, and not for their own private interests, had declared that they accepted the Pope as arbitrator, and that they delivered their sees into his hands; that, if he was of opinion that they should abandon them in favour of the civil constitution, they would submit. At the present day, then, it was only taking them at their word, and enacting the fulfilment of that solemn offer. If some amongst them, through personal motives, should be a bar to so great a benefit as the restoration of religion to France, they should no longer be looked on as bishops, but be considered as having resigned from 1790. The abbé Bernier added, that there was a precedent of this sort in the Church, namely, the resignation *en masse* of the 300 bishops of Africa, agreed on for the purpose of putting an end to the schism of the Donatists. It is true that they had not been deposed. As to the new selections to be made, it was necessary to concede to the First Consul the principle of amalgamation. This principle the First Consul would apply, above all, to the benefit of the unsworn clergy. He would pick out two or three constitutional priests, merely for example's sake, but his principal selection would be from the mass of the orthodox clergy. The French negotiator advanced here on his own responsibility further than he should have done. It is true, that the First Consul set little value on the constitutional bishops, who, for the most part, were narrow-minded Jansenists, or declaimers at the clubs; it is true, that in that body of clergy

he esteemed only the ordinary priests, who, in general, had taken the oath through submission to the laws, through a desire of continuing their sacred ministry, and had not taken advantage of the agitations of the time to raise themselves to the sacerdotal hierarchy. Nevertheless, if he had but little respect for the constitutional bishops, he adhered to his principle of amalgamation, and did not bargain away the rights of the sworn clergy so cheaply as the abbé Bernier seemed to announce. But the abbé Bernier expressed himself thus to further the success of the negotiation. As to the nomination of the bishops by the First Consul, it was necessary, according to the abbé Bernier, to get over a very remote and very improbable difficulty, viz., that of some day having a Protestant First Consul. It was not worth while, in his opinion, to look forward to so very unlikely an occurrence. Relatively to the property of the clergy, it was needful to lose no time in drawing up a form of selling it, since they were agreed on the principle. Relatively to the restitution of the unsold property, and to testamentary donations of houses and lands, they were irreconcilable with the political principles in vogue at the time in France, principles absolutely at variance with property in mortmain. That the Roman negotiator should be content in this respect with one concession, namely, that of donations of annuities from the public funds. "In fine," said the abbé Bernier, "the time has arrived for concluding, for the First Consul was beginning to be dissatisfied. He thought that the Pope had not the energy to break with the emigrant party, for the purpose of giving himself entirely to France. He would end by renouncing the good of which he had at first entertained the thought, and, without persecuting the priests, leaving them to themselves, he would allow the Church to become what it could in France, not taking into consideration that he would pursue in Italy a line of conduct hostile to the court of Rome. It was," continued abbé Bernier, "to have lost all discernment not to profit by the dispositions of so great a man, the only man capable of saving religion. He himself, too, had great difficulties to overcome with regard to the revolutionary party; and, so far from thwarting, one ought to assist him in surmounting these difficulties, by making to him such concessions as he needed for winning to his side opinions, little disposed in France in favour of the Catholic religion."

Monsignor Spina was beginning to be very much embarrassed. He was a believer, but his covetousness surpassed his faith. Incessantly demanding money for his court, his most ardent wish was to make her as rich and as lavish as of yore. But the little success of his insinuations regarding the lost provinces discouraged him singularly. He perceived that the First Consul, as wily as the Italian priests, did not wish to be communicative with persons who were not communicative them-

selves. He saw, moreover, all the courts at his feet; he saw the Russian negotiator, M. de Kalitscheff, who had wished, in so insolent a manner, to protect the petty Italian princes, go away disappointed, all Germany dependent on France for the partition of the territorial indemnities; Portugal submissive, and England herself brought to make peace through fatigue. Confronted by such a state of things, he was convinced that he had no longer any other resource than to submit, and to trust for what he was desirous, to the sole will of the First Consul. Disposed to yield, Monsignor Spina, was still afraid to give his adherence to the very arbitrary conditions which the French cabinet had laid down, with the evident resolution of not swerving from them, because they were established by the imperious necessities of the state of things.

The First Consul, with his accustomed cleverness, relieved the Roman negotiator from embarrassment. It was the moment, already described above, when all the negotiations were going on together, especially those with England. Thinking, with a sort of joy, on the prodigious effect that a general peace would have, which should comprise even the Church herself, he wished to have done with it by a quick and decided step. He caused a project of a Concordat to be drawn up, to offer it definitively to Monsignor Spina. This matter was managed by two ecclesiastics, who had laid aside holy orders, and belonged to the department for foreign affairs, to wit, M. de Talleyrand and M. de Hauterive. Fortunately, between them and Monsignor Spina, was interposed the clever and orthodox Bernier. The project, written by M. de Hauterive, and revised by the abbé Bernier, was simple, clear, decided. It contained, drawn up in law form, all that the French legation had proposed. This project was presented to Monsignor Spina, who was very much troubled by it, and offered to send it to his court, but declared that he could not sign it himself. "Why," he was asked, "do you refuse to sign it? Can it be that you have not powers? If so, what have you been doing in Paris for six months? Why do you take on you the part of a negotiator, which you cannot fill to its necessary term, that is to say, to a conclusion? Or perhaps you think the project inadmissible? If you do, have the boldness to say so; and the French cabinet, which can grant no other conditions, will cease to negotiate with you. It may, or may not break with the Holy See; but it will have done with Monsignor Spina."

The crafty prelate knew not what answer to make. He affirmed that he had powers. Not having the courage to avow that he considered the French proposal inadmissible, he alleged that, in matters of religion, the Pope, surrounded by his cardinals, could alone accept a treaty. And, in consequence, he renewed the offer of sending the First Consul's project to his Holiness. "Let it be so," said some to him; "but declare, at

least, in sending it, that you approve of it." Monsignor Spina still refused any approving formula, and replied, "that he would impress urgently on his Holiness, the adoption of a treaty which might work out in France the re-establishment of the Catholic faith.

A courier was despatched to Rome with the project of the Concordat, and with orders to M. de Cacault, the ambassador from France to the Holy See, to submit it to the Pope for his immediate and definitive acceptance. The courier was the bearer of a present which was destined to cause great joy in Italy, it was the famous wooden Virgin of Notre Dame of Loretto, carried away, in the time of the Directory, from Loretto itself, and afterwards deposited in the national library of Paris, as an object of curiosity. The First Consul knew that the placing of such a relic in the royal library was a source of scandal to many sincere yet irritable Christians, and made this pious restitution to precede the Concordat.

This present was welcomed in the Romagna with a gladness hard to be conceived in France. The Pope received the Concordat better than was expected. This worthy pontiff, preoccupied with the interests of the faith more than with his temporal concerns, did not see any thing absolutely inadmissible in the project, and thought that, with some changes in the wording of it, he should succeed in satisfying the First Consul, which he looked on as a very important point; for the re-establishment of religion in France was, in his eyes, the greatest, the most essential, of the affairs of the Church.

He appointed the three cardinals, Cavandini, Antonelli, and Gerdil, to make a primary examination of the project sent from Paris. The cardinals Antonelli and Gerdil, passed for the two most learned personages of the Church. Cardinal Gerdil was even become a Frenchman, for he belonged by birth to Savoy. The Pope enjoined these three to use despatch. The first examination ended, they were to make their report to a congregation of twelve cardinals, chosen from among those who were then in Rome, and who understood best the interests of the Roman Church. They were required to promise secrecy on the Holy Gospels. The Pope, fearing the plottings and outcries of the French emigrants, sought to withhold the decision of the sacred college from all party influence. On his part, then, the efforts were in perfect sincerity. He had by him a French minister entirely to his taste; this was M. de Cacault, a man of feeling as well as wit, divided between the recollections of the eighteenth century, to which he belonged by his years and education, and the sentiments which Rome inspires in all those who live in the midst of her ruined grandeur and her religious pomp. In setting out from Paris, M. de Cacault had asked the First Consul for his instructions. He had answered him by that superb saying, "Treat the Pope as if I had

200,000 soldiers." M. de Cacault loved Pius VII. and general Bonaparte; and, by his kindly demeanour, disposed them to love one another. "Confide in the First Consul," said he, incessantly, to the Pope; "he will arrange your affairs. But do what he asks of you, for he has need of what he asks of you in order to succeed." He said to the First Consul, "Have a little patience. The Pope is the most holy, the most engaging of men. He wishes to satisfy you; but give him time for it. It is necessary to accustom his mind and that of the cardinals to the arbitrary proposals which you send hither. Rome is more trusting than you think. This court must be led with gentleness. If we ruffle her we shall bewilder her. She will fling herself into the endurance of martyrdom, as the only resource in her situation." These wise counsels moderated the impetuosity of the First Consul, and inclined him to await patiently the fastidious examination of the court of Rome.

At last, when the business was finished, the Pope and cardinal Gonsalvi had several interviews with M. de Cacault. They communicated the Roman project. M. de Cacault, finding it too distant from the French project, made reiterated efforts to obtain some modifications. It was necessary, a second time, to have recourse to the congregation of the twelve cardinals; this, again, took up much time; so that, without gaining advantages of any note, M. de Cacault contributed himself to the loss of an entire month. At length the parties came to an agreement, as nearly as possible; which ended in a plan, differing from the plan of the First Consul, in the following points.

The Catholic religion was to be declared in France, the *religion of the State;* the Consuls were to profess it publicly; there was to be a new diocesan reconstruction, and only sixty sees, as the First Consul wished. The Pope was to address the former bishops, demanding their voluntary resignation, on the grounds of their offer of resignation made to Pius VI., in 1790. It was probable that a very great number would give it, and then, the sees vacant by death or resignation would furnish the French government with room for an ample list of nominations. As for those who should refuse, the Pope would take suitable measures that the administration of the sees should not remain in their hands.

The excellent pontiff said to the First Consul, in an affecting letter which he addressed to him: "Dispense with my declaring publicly that I will depose old prelates who have suffered cruel persecutions for the cause of the Church. First, my right to do so is doubtful; secondly, it is grievous to me to treat in this manner ministers of the altar, in misfortune and in exile. What answer would you make to those who should require you to sacrifice the generals by whom you are sur-

rounded, and whose devotedness has rendered you so many times victorious? .... The result which you desire to obtain will be the same in the end, for the greater part of the sees will become vacant by death, or by resignation. You shall fill them up; and, as to the small number of those which will remain occupied, in consequence of some refusals of resignation, we will not nominate bishops to them, but cause them be administered by vicars worthy of your confidence and ours." On the other points, the Roman project was nearly similar to the French. It granted the nominations to the First Consul, saving in the case where a First Consul should be a Protestant; it contained the sanction of the public sales; but, while it persisted in demanding that testamentary gifts of houses and lands might be made to the clergy, it conceded to the married priests the indulgences of the Church.

Evidently, the most serious difficulty was the deposition of those old bishops who should refuse to tender their resignation. Such a sacrifice was painful to the Pope; for it was, in a manner, immolating at the feet of the First Consul the old French clergy. However, this immolation was indispensable, to enable the First Consul to suppress, in his turn, the constitutional clergy, and, out of the different classes of priests, to make but one, composed of persons esteemed by all sects. It was one of those occasions, on which, in all ages, the papacy had not hesitated to take decisive resolutions to save the Church. But, at the moment of resolving, the well-disposed though timorous mind of the pontiff was a prey to the most painful perplexities.

Whilst the time was thus employed at Rome, whether in conferences of the cardinals with each other, or in conferences of the secretary of state with M. de Cacault, the First Consul, in Paris, had lost patience. He was beginning to fear that the court of Rome might be intriguing, either with the emigrants, or with foreign courts, particularly that of Austria. To his natural distrust were joined the suggestions of the enemies of religion, who sought to persuade him that he was deceived, and that he, so penetrating, so clever, was the dupe of Italian finesse. He was but little disposed to believe that their finesse was keener than his own, but he wished, however, to try the soundings of that sea which he was told was so deep; and, the same day (May 13th) that the courier, bearing the despatches of the Holy See was leaving Rome, he made a threatening demonstration in Paris.

He sent for the abbé Bernier,* Monsignor Spina, and M. de Talleyrand, to Malmaison. He informed them that he had no longer confidence in the dispositions of the court of Rome; that the desire of deferring to the emigrants was evidently of greater importance with her than the desire of becoming reconciled with France; and that party interest took precedence of the in-

terests of religion; that he did not understand that inimical courts should be consulted, and, perhaps, even the heads of the emigrant party, to know if she ought to treat with the French Republic; that, as the Church might receive from him immense benefits, she ought to accept or refuse them on the spot, and not retard the welfare of the million, by useless hesitations, or by yet more misplaced consultations; that he would do without the Holy See, since his efforts were not seconded by her; that certainly he should not expose the Church to the persecutions of by-gone days, but that he would leave the priests to themselves, confining himself to chastising the turbulent among them, and leaving the others to live as best they might; that he would hold himself, relatively to the court of Rome, as free from all engagements to her, even from the engagements contained in the treaty of Tolentino; since, *de facto*, that treaty had become null the very day of the proclamation of war between Pius VII. and the Directory. In uttering these words, the tone of the First Consul was cold, positive, withering. He gave it to be understood, in the illustrations following this declaration, that his confidence in the holy father was unchanged; but that he imputed the slow delays which gave him annoyance to cardinal Gonsalvi and to the set of advisers about the Pope.

The First Consul had gained his end, for the unfortunate Spina quitted Malmaison in real disorder of mind, and hastened to Paris, in order to write to his court despatches brimful of the fear which agitated himself. M. de Talleyrand, on his part, wrote to M. de Cacault a despatch conformable to the scene at Malmaison. He enjoined him to repair to the Pope and cardinal Gonsalvi, to declare to them that the First Consul, full of confidence in the personal character of the holy father, had not any in his cabinet; that he was resolved to break off a negotiation too insincere; and that he, M. de Cacault, had orders to quit Rome within five days, if the plan of the concordat was not immediately adopted, or was only adopted with modifications. M. de Cacault, in fact, was instructed to withdraw, pending this delay, to Florence, there to wait until the First Consul should transmit to him his determination.

This despatch reached Rome at the latter end of May. It chagrined M. de Cacault very much; he feared, by the news of which he was the bearer, to disconcert, perhaps to push to desperate resolutions, the Roman court; he feared, above all, to afflict a pontiff for whom he had not been able to avoid feeling a real attachment. However, the commands of the First Consul were so absolute, that there were no means of evading their execution. M. de Cacault went then to the Pope, and to cardinal Gonsalvi, and showed them his instructions, which caused them both poignant distress. Cardinal Gonsalvi, in particular, who saw himself clearly designated, in

the despatches of the First Consul, as the author of the interminable delays of this negotiation, felt as if dying of consternation. Nevertheless, he was not much to blame, and the superannuated forms of that oldest chancery in the world was the sole cause of the delays of which the First Consul complained, at least since the affair was transferred to Rome. M. de Cacault proposed to the Pope and to cardinal Gonsalvi an idea, which surprised and disturbed them at first, but which appeared to them, in the sequel, the only way to a safe issue. "You do not wish," said he to them, "to adopt the Concordat sent from Paris, in all its expressions. Well! let the cardinal himself go to France, invested with your powers. He will make himself known to the First Consul; he will inspire him with confidence; he will obtain from him the indispensable changes in the document. If any difficulty should arise, he will be there to obviate it. He will anticipate, by his presence on the spot, the loss of time which particularly irritates the impatient character of the head of our government. You will be thus withdrawn from great peril, and the affairs of religion will be saved." It was a great pain to the Pope to part with a minister whom he could no longer dispense with, and who alone gave him strength to bear the pains of sovereignty. He was plunged into frightful perplexities, finding the idea of M. de Cacault very wise, but the separation proposed to him cruel.

That implacable faction, composed not only of emigrants, but of all those who, in Europe, detested the French Revolution—that faction, which would have longed for an eternal war with France, which had seen with sorrow the end of the civil war in La Vendée, and which saw, with no less sorrow, the approaching termination of schism—besieged Rome with letters, filled it with its tattle, and covered its walls with placards. It said, for instance, that Pius VI., to save the faith, had lost the Holy See; and that Pius VII., to save the Holy See, would destroy the faith.* The invectives, of which he was the object, had no effect with this pontiff (who was sensitive, but devoted to his duties), in shaking his resolution of saving the Church, in spite of all parties—in spite of the Church party itself; but he suffered severely from them. Cardinal Gonsalvi was his confidant and his friend; to part from him was a poignant grief to him. The cardinal, in his turn, dreaded the prospect of being in Paris, in that revolutionary gulf which had swallowed, as he was told, so many victims. He trembled at the sole idea of finding himself in the presence of that formidable general, the object at once of admiration and of fear, whom Monsignor Spina depicted to him as particularly irritated against the secre-

* "Pio VI. per conservar la fede,
Perde la sede.
Pio VII. per conservar la sede,
Perde la fede."

tary of state. These wo-begone priests formed a thousand false notions regarding France and its government; and, improved as they were told it was, they shuddered at the very thought of being a moment in its hands. The cardinal decided, then, but his decision was as that of one about to brave death. "Since they must have a victim," said he, "I devote myself, and give myself up to Providence." He had even the imprudence to write to Naples letters in conformity with these words—letters which came to the knowledge of our minister at Naples, and were communicated to the First Consul, who fortunately regarded them as a subject of laughter, rather than of irritation.

But the journey of the secretary of state to Paris was far from smoothing all difficulties and anticipating all dangers. The departure of M. de Cacault to his retreat at Florence, the head-quarters of the French army, might perhaps be a gloomy manifestation for the two governments of Rome and Naples. These two governments, in fact, were continually menaced by the repressed and always ardent passions of the Italian patriots. That of the Pope was odious to men who were unwilling to be governed any longer by priests, and the number of these men in the Roman State was large; that of Naples was abhorred for the blood it had spilt. The departure of M. de Cacault might be considered as a sort of permission, given to the mischievously inclined Italians to try their hands at some dangerous attempt. The Pope, also, feared it. It was agreed, then, to prevent any misinterpretation, to let M. de Cacault and cardinal Gonsalvi set out together. They were to be travelling companions as far as Florence. M. de Cacault, on quitting Rome, left there his secretary of legation.

MM. Gonsalvi and de Cacault quitted Rome on the 6th of June (17th Prairial) and journeyed towards Florence. They travelled in the same carriage, and, wherever they stopped, the cardinal pointed out M. de Cacault to the populace, saying to them: "This is the French minister;" so desirous was he that it should be known that no rupture had taken place. The agitation in Italy was brisk enough. However, it produced nothing vexatious for the nonce; for men awaited a clearer view of the dispositions of the French government, before essaying any change. Cardinal Gonsalvi separated from M. de Cacault at Florence, and took his road tremblingly towards Paris.*

---

* Florence, 19 Prairial, year IX.

François Cacault, minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, at Rome, to the citizen minister for foreign affairs.

"Citizen Minister,—

"Here I am at Florence. The cardinal secretary of state left Rome along with me. He called for me at my house. We have made the journey together in the same carriage. Our servants followed, after the same fashion,

In this interval, the First Consul, receiving from Rome the amended project, and perceiving that the differences were more formal than fundamental, had become calm. The news that cardinal Gonsalvi was coming himself to settle an agreement between the Holy See and the French cabinet satisfied him completely. He saw in it the certainty of a proximate arrangement. He prepared, then, to give the best reception to the prime minister of the Roman court.

Cardinal Gonsalvi arrived the 20th of June (1st Messidor) in Paris. The abbé Bernier and Monsignor Spina hastened to meet him and to cheer him respecting the disposition of the First

---

in a second carriage, and the expenses were paid by each one's respective courier.

"We were looked on everywhere with staring wonder. The cardinal was much afraid it might be imagined that I was going away in consequence of a diplomatic rupture; he was incessantly saying to every body, '*This is the minister of France.*' This country, crushed by the bygone evils of the war, shudders at the least idea of the movement of troops. The Roman government is more afraid of its own discontented subjects, particularly of those who have been allured to authority and to plunder by the sort of revolution that has passed. We have thus prevented, and dissipated at the same time, horrifying fears and rash hopes. I think that the tranquillity of Rome will not be troubled.

"The cardinal has spent here the day of the 18th in great and manifest friendship with general Murat, who has given him a residence and a guard of honour. He offered the same to me. I have not accepted any thing; I lodged at an inn.

"The cardinal set out this morning for Paris. He will arrive shortly after my despatch; he will travel extremely quick. The poor fellow feels that if he fails he will be lost without hope, and that all will be lost for Rome. He is eager to know the upshot. I have made him understand that a great means of saving every thing was despatch, because the First Consul had serious reasons for concluding quickly and executing promptly.

"I had tried at Rome to induce the Pope to give his own signature solely to the Concordat, and if he had conceded that point I should not have left Rome; but this idea has not succeeded with me.

"You are right in thinking that the cardinal is not sent to sign at Paris what the Pope has refused to sign at Rome; but he is first minister to his holiness and his favourite; it is the soul of the Pope that is about to enter into communication with you. I hope that an agreement concerning the modifications will be the result of it. It is a question of phrases, of words which may be turned in so many ways that in the end a good one will be sifted out.

"The cardinal carries to the First Consul a confidential letter from the Pope and the most ardent desire to terminate the affair. He is a man of a clear mind. His person has nothing imposing; he is not fitted for grandeur; his elocution, a little verbose, is not captivating; his character is mild, his soul will open itself to overflowing, provided he be encouraged mildly to confidence.

"I have written to Madrid, to the ambassador Lucien Bonaparte, to inform him of the meaning of cardinal Gonsalvi's brilliant journey to Paris and of my retirement to Florence. In like manner I have informed the ministers of the emperor and of the king of Spain at Rome, that there was no likelihood of war with the Pope,

"I am, yours respectfully,

"CACAULT."

Consul. The costume in which he was to be presented at Malmaison was agreed on, and he repaired thither, with great emotion at the idea of meeting general Bonaparte, who, being aware of it, did not care to add to the uneasiness of the cardinal. He displayed all the art of language with which nature had gifted him, to impress himself on the mind of his hearer, to show him thoroughly his intentions, so frankly benevolent towards the Church, to make him sensible of the serious difficulties attached to the re-establishment of public worship in France; and, above all, to make him understand that the interest he had in deferring to French opinion was much greater than what he could have in gratifying the resentments of priests, of emigrants, of deposed princes, despised and abandoned by Europe. He delared to cardinal Gonsalvi, that he was ready to revise certain details which were obscure to the court of Rome, provided that, at bottom, she would grant what he regarded as indispensable; namely, the creation of an ecclesiastical establishment entirely new, which might be his work, and might reunite the wise and repectable priests of all parties.

The cardinal came away encouraged from this interview with the First Consul. He seldom showed himself in Paris, observed a becoming distance, equally remote from an exaggerated severity, and from that Italian facility, so much the reproach of the Roman priests. He accepted some invitations from the ministers and the consuls, but perseveringly refused to show himself in the public places. He set to work with the abbé Bernier to resolve the last difficulties of the negotiation. Two points formed above all an obstacle to the agreement between the two governments: the one relative to the title of *Religion of the State*, which title was sought to be obtained for the Catholic religion; the other, the deposition of the former bishops. Cardinal Gonsalvi wished that, in order to justify, in the face of Christendom, the great concessions made to the First Consul, a solemn declaration should be put forward by the French Republic in favour of the Catholic Church; he wished that it should proclaim the Catholic religion *the dominant religion*, that it should promise abrogation of the laws that were opposed to it, and that the First Consul should engage to profess it publicly in person. His example would be looked on as calculated to be of omnipotent effect on the minds of the multitude.

The abbé Bernier repeated that, to proclaim a *Religion of State*, or a *dominant religion*, was to alarm the other religious persuasions, to create a fear of the return of a plundering, oppressive, intolerant religion, &c.; that it was impossible to go beyond the declaration of a fact, namely, that the majority of the French were Catholic. He added, that toa brogate anterior laws it was necessary to have the concurrence of the egislative power, which would throw the French cabinet into

inextricable embarrassments; that the government, taken as a governing body, could not profess a religion; that the consuls might profess it personally; but that this fact, quite an individual and in some sort a private one, was not of a nature to figure in a treaty. As to the personal conduct of the First Consul, the abbé Bernier said, in quite a low tone, that he would assist at a *Te Deum* or at a mass; but that, as to the other practices of religion, it was not necessary to expect them of him, and that there were things that the discernment of the cardinal ought to renounce the exaction of, for they would produce an effect more vexatious than salutary. A preamble was agreed on at length, which, in connexion with the first article, nearly satisfied the two legations.

The government, it ran, *recognising that the Catholic religion is the religion of the great majority of the French*. . . .

The Pope, on his part, recognising that this religion had derived, and still expected at this moment the greatest benefit from the re-establishment of the Catholic worship in France, and from the individual profession which the Consuls of the Republic made of it; &c.

From this double motive, the two authorities, for the good of religion, and for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, laid it down, (article first) *that the Catholic religion should be exercised in France, and that its forms of worship should be public, in conformity with the police regulations, which are judged to be necessary for the maintenance of tranquillity*: (article second) *that there should be a new arrangement of dioceses, &c.*

This preamble sufficiently satisfied the objects of all parties; for it proclaimed loudly the re-establishment of divine service, rendered the profession of it in France public as in former days, made the profession of this religion by the consuls an individual act, personally exercised by the three consuls, put this allegation as proceeding from the Pope's lips and not from those of the chief of the republic. These first difficulties then appeared to be happily overcome. Next came the contested points regarding the deposing of the former bishops. Fundamentally they were agreed to, but cardinal Gonsalvi demanded that the Pope should be spared the pain of pronouncing the deposition in a public act, of the ancient French bishops. He promised, that those who should refuse to tender the resignation of their sees should no longer be considered as titular, and that the Pope would consent to appoint successors to them; but he did not wish that that should be formally contained in the Concordat. The First Consul showed himself inflexible on this point, and, without specifying the precise words, required that it should be stated in positive terms, that the Pope would address himself to the former bishops, that he would demand of them the resignation of their sees, which he expected with confidence from their love of religion, and that if

they refused, "the bishoprics of new formation should be provided with new diocesans for their government." These were the exact expressions of the treaty.

The other conditions were not contested. The First Consul was to have the nomination of the bishops, and the Pope the institution of them. However, cardinal Gonsalvi craved, and the First Consul granted, one reservation, by which it was said that, in case of a Protestant First Consul, a new convention should be had, to regulate the mode of nomination. It was stipulated that the bishops should nominate the curés, and should select them from amongst subjects approved of by the government. The question of the oath was settled by the mere and simple adoption of the oath formerly pledged to the kings of France. The Holy See had reasonably claimed powers, granted to it without difficulty, of establishing seminaries for recruiting the clergy, but without obliging the State to endow them. The engagement not to disturb the holders of national property was formal. Their ownership of acquired property was expressly recognised. It was said that the government would take measures that the clergy should receive suitable salaries, that the old religious edifices, and all the parsonages not yet alienated, should be restored to them. It was agreed, that permission to make donations should be granted to the faithful, but that the Church should regulate the form of them. Secretly, the form of payment out of the funds was mutually agreed on, seeing that the First Consul would not on any account re-establish property in mortmain. This settlement was to be found in ulterior regulations of the police superintending the forms of worship, which the government alone had the power to make.

With regard to the married priests, the cardinal had given his word, that a brief of indulgence should be immediately published; but he demanded that an act of religious charity, emanating from the clemency of the holy father, should preserve its free and spontaneous character, and not pass as a condition imposed on the Holy See. This consideration was granted.

All matters were finally agreed on, and on reasonable foundations, which guaranteed, at the same time, the independence of the French Church and its perfect union with the Holy See. Never had there been made with Rome a convention more liberal and at the same time more orthodox; and, it must be acknowledged, that one serious resolution had been forced on the Pope, but it was perfectly justified by circumstances, that of deposing the former bishops who should refuse to resign. It was necessary then to remain satisfied and to conclude.

Meanwhile, agitation was at work around the First Consul to hinder his definitive consent. The men who usually had access to him, and who enjoyed the privilege of giving him their advice, combated his determination. The party of the constitutional clergy bestirred themselves a great deal for fear of being sacri-

ficed to the unsworn clergy. It had obtained the power of assembling its members and forming a sort of national council at Paris. The First Consul had granted these powers for the purpose of stimulating the zeal of the Holy See, and of making it feel the danger of delays. In this assembly many senseless matters were broached, on the customs of the primitive Church, to which the authors of the civil constitution had wished to bring back the French Church. It was professed by them that episcopal functions ought to be conferred by election, that, if that was not completely possible, the First Consul should choose subjects from a list presented by the faithful of each diocese; that the nomination of the bishops should be confirmed by the metropolitans, that is by the archbishops, and that of the latter by the Pope alone; but that the papal ratification could not be allowed to the Holy See arbitrarily; and that, after a certain delay, she should be compelled: which latter was equivalent to the complete annihilation of the rights of the court of Rome. All that was uttered in this sort of council was not, however, as destitute of practical reasoning. Some sound ideas on the limitation of bishoprics, on the emission of bulls, on the necessity of not allowing any publication emanating from pontifical authority, without the express permission of the civil authority. They intended to reunite these divers observations under the form of votes, which were to be presented to the First Consul to explain their resolutions. What was very glibly and very frequently repeated in this assembly was, that, during the reign of terror, the constitutional clergy had rendered great services to proscribed religion, that they had not fled nor abandoned the churches, and that it was not just to sacrifice them to those who, during the persecution, had assumed the pretext of orthodoxy to escape the dangers of the priesthood. All this was very accurate, particularly as regarded the ordinary priests, the greater part of whom had, in reality, the virtues attributed to them. But the constitutional bishops, some of whom, however, deserved respect, were disputants, real sectarians, whom ambition in some, and the pride of theological squabbles in others, had carried away, and who were inferior in worth to their subordinates, simple and unpretending men. He, who at their head, showed himself the most restless, the abbé Grégoire, was the head of a sect: his morals were pure, but his mind narrow, his vanity excessive, and his political conduct stained by a melancholy reminiscence. Without being exposed to the impulses or the terrors which tore from the Convention a vote of death against the unfortunate Louis XVI., the abbé Grégoire, at that time absent, and free to hold his tongue, had addressed to that assembly a letter breathing sentiments but little conformable to humanity and to religion. He was one of those whom a return to sane ideas suited least, and who were trying, though in vain, to struggle against the tendency incited in all things by the con-

sular government. He had taken care to make attachments for himself in the Bonaparte family, and by that means conveyed to the head of that family a multitude of objections against the resolution in preparation. The First Consul allowed the constitutionalists to talk and do, but was ready to stop them if their agitation proceeded to scandal; and he was not sorry to render their presence irksome to the Holy See, and to apply to her slowness this sort of stimulant. Although he had little fondness for the members of this branch of the clergy, because they were in general squabbling theologians, he wished to defend their rights, and to force on the Pope, as bishops, those who were known for pure morality and a manageable disposition. More was not required by the greater number, for they were far from being repugnant to the reunion with the Holy See. They even desired it, as the surest and most honourable means for them to abandon a life of agitation and a state of vexatious disesteem with their flocks. The greater part resisted an arrangement with Rome only through the fear of being sacrificed, *en masse*, to the former bishops.

There was a more formidable in-door opposition to the First Consul; it was that produced in the ministry itself. M. de Talleyrand, wounded by the *animus* of the court of Rome, which had shown itself less easy, less indulgent, than he had thought it at the outset, was become cold and ill-disposed to it. He was evidently baffling the negotiation, after having begun it with so much good-will, when he looked on it only as one peace more to be concluded. He had set out for the waters, as we have already stated, leaving with the First Consul a project completely drawn up—a project arbitrary in form, hurtful without usefulness, and which the court of Rome would not admit on any consideration. M. de Hauterive had taken charge of continuing his part. The latter, half plighted to holy orders, having freed himself from that bond at the time of the Revolution, was but little favourable to the desires of the Holy See. He opposed a thousand technical difficulties to the project agreed upon by the abbé Bernier and cardinal Gonsalvi. In his opinion, the deposition of the former bishops should be expressed in it in a more positive and manifest manner; they ought to have mentioned in it that pious legacies could be made only through the funds; to have specified, in short, in a formal article, the Catholic reinstatement of the married priests, &c. M. de Hauterive thus brought again into existence the technical difficulties before which the negotiation had well nigh succumbed. On the very day of signing, he sent, a most pressing memorial, on these various points, to the First Consul.

All these debates being ended, an assembly of the consuls and the ministers was held, in which the question was definitively discussed and settled. The objections, already known, were repeated there; great stress was laid on the inconvenience

of ruffling the French mind, of adding to the budget new charges, of putting in peril, it was said, even the national property, by awakening among the clergy, restored to their functions, more hopes than one was willing to satisfy. A project of simple toleration was spoken of, which should consist merely in giving up, to the sworn as well as to the unsworn priests, the religious edifices, and for the government to remain a quiet spectator of their quarrels, saving intervention if order happened to be materially disturbed by them.

The consul Cambacérès, a strong partisan of the concordat, expressed himself on this subject with warmth, and replied triumphantly to all the objections. He maintained that the danger of ruffling the French mind was not real, except as regarded some *beaux esprits* of the oppositionists, but the mass of the people would willingly welcome, with open arms, the re-establishment of worship, and felt already a real moral want of it; that the consideration of the expense was a contemptible consideration in such a matter; that the national property was, on the contrary, more solemnly guaranteed than ever, by the sanction obtained from the Holy See of the national sales. M. de Cambacérès was, in this place, interrupted by the First Consul, who, ever inflexible when there was question of the national property, declared that he was making the concordat precisely on account of the holders of national property, particularly in their behalf; that he would crush, with all his might, those priests who were foolish enough or ill disposed enough to abuse the great act about to be performed. The consul Cambacérès, resuming his discourse, showed how ridiculous, how hard of execution was this project of indifference to religious parties, who would dispute among each other for the confidence of the faithful, for the religious edifices, for the voluntary donations of public piety, who would bestow on government all the weariness of active intervention, without any of its advantages, and would end, perhaps, in the reunion of all sects in one single hostile Church, independent of the state, and depending on foreign authority.

The consul Lebrun spoke in the same strain; and, lastly, the First Consul gave his opinion in a few words, in a clear, precise, and peremptory manner. He was aware of the difficulties, even of the perils of this undertaking; the extent of his views went beyond some difficulties of the moment, and he was resolved. He showed himself so in his words. Henceforward there was no more resistance, except disapproval by grumbling at his resolution, when out of his presence. Then came submission, and the command was given to sign the Concordat, such as the abbé Bernier and cardinal Gonsalvi had definitively drawn it up.

According to his custom of reserving for his elder brother the conclusion of all important acts, the First Consul appointed,

as plenipotentiaries, Joseph Bonaparte, the councillor of state, Cretet, and lastly the abbé Bernier, to whom this honour was deservedly due for the pains he had taken, and the ability he had displayed, in this long and memorable negotiation. The Pope had for plenipotentiaries, cardinal Gonsalvi, Monsignor Spina, and father Caselli, a learned Italian, who had followed the Roman legation, in order to assist it by his theological knowledge. They met together, for form sake, at Joseph Bonaparte's house; they read over the acts again; they made some slight changes of detail, always reserved for the last moment; and, on the 15th of July, 1801 (26th Messidor), this great act was signed, the most important that the court of Rome had ever concluded with France, and, perhaps, with any Christian power, for it terminated one of the most frightful storms that the Catholic religion had ever gone through. As to France, it put a stop to a deplorable schism, and put a stop to it, by placing the Church and the State in suitable relations of union and independence.

There remained much to be done after the signature of this treaty, which has since borne the title of the Concordat. It was necessary to demand the ratification of it at Rome, then to obtain the bulls which were to accompany the publication of it, as well as briefs addressed to all the former bishops, to call for their resignation; it was next necessary to trace out the new demarcations of the dioceses, to chose the sixty new prelates, and, in all things, to proceed in accordance with Rome. It was an uninterrupted negotiation, until the day on which they could, at last, chant a *Te Deum* at Notre Dame, to celebrate the re-establishment of religion. The First Consul, always eager to arrive at the result, would have wished that all this might be finished promptly, in order to celebrate at the same time the peace with the European powers and the peace with the Church. The accomplishment of such a desire was difficult. Haste was made, nevertheless, in expediting these details, in order not to retard in the slightest degree the grand act of religious restoration.

The First Consul did not make public as yet the treaty signed with the Pope, for it was first necessary to have received the ratifications. But he imparted it to the Council of State, in the sitting of the 6th of August (18th Thermidor). He did not communicate the act in its tenour, he contented himself with giving an analysis of the substance of it, and accompanied this analysis with the enumeration of the motives which had decided this act of the government. Those who heard him that day were struck with the precision, the vigour, the loftiness of his language. It was the eloquence of the chief magistrate of a State. However, if they were impressed by that simple and nervous eloquence which Cicero called, coming from Cæsar's lips, "*vim Cæsaris*," they were little reconciled

to the proceeding of the First Consul.* They remained s[illegible] and dumb, as if they had seen one of the most to be regret[illegible] works of the Revolution perish along with the schism. The a[illegible] not being yet submitted to the deliberations of the Council o[illegible] State, there was no discussing it, nor voting on it. Nothing disturbed the silent coldness of this scene. They were silent; they separated without saying a word, without expressing a suffrage. But the First Consul had exhibited his will, henceforth irrevocable, and that went far with a vast number of persons. It was, at the least, the safe silence of those who did not wish to displease him, and of those too, who respecting his genius, valuing the immensity of benefits that he had conferred upon France, were decided to pass over even his faults.

The First Consul, thinking that he had now sufficiently stimulated the court of Rome, judged that it was necessary to put an end to the pretended council of the constitutional clergy. In consequence, he commanded them to separate, and they obeyed. Not one of them would have dared to offend the authority which was going to distribute sixty bishopries raised up, this time, by pontifical institution. In separating, they presented to the First Consul an act suitable in form, and which contained their views relatively to the new religious establishments. It contained the propositions which we have already made known.

The cardinal Gonsalvi had left Paris to return to Rome, and to bring back M. de Cacault to the presence of the Holy See. The Pope was sighing for this double return, for Lower Italy was dangerously agitated. The Italian patriots of Naples and the Roman State were waiting with impatience the opportunity of a new commotion; and the old Ruffo party, the cut-throats of the queen of Naples, sought nothing better than a pretext

* Letter from Monsignor Spina to cardinal Gonsalvi, Secretary of State:—

"Paris, 8th August.

"On Thursday last, the First Consul, being present at the Council of State, and having been informed that the Convention concluded by him with his Holiness was the general conversation at Paris, and that every one, though ignorant of its precise tenour, spoke of it, and commented upon it, each after his own fancy, therefore took the opportunity of communicating to the Council itself the whole details. I know for certain that he spoke for an hour and a half, demonstrating the necessity and advantage of it, and I have been told that he spoke most admirably. As he did not ask for the opinion of his Council, all the members remained silent. I have not yet been able to learn what impression was produced on the minds of the councillors in general. The good were delighted at it, but their number is very limited. I will endeavour to discover what impression was made on those who are adverse to it. It appears that the First Consul is desirous of preparing the minds of those who are hostile to this measure, with the view of disarming their opposition; but he will not succeed, unless he adopts some more energetic proceedings against the Constitutionalists, or whilst he leaves the Catholic worship exposed to the lash of the minister of police."

to fall on the French. These men, so different in intention, were ready to combine their efforts for the purpose of throwing every thing into confusion. The news of the agreement established between the two governments, French and Roman, the certainty of the intervention of general Murat, placed in the neighbourhood at the head of an army, restrained the plottings, and hindered these sinister intentions. The Pope was overjoyed on seeing cardinal Gonsalvi and the minister of France return to Rome. He immediately called together the congregation of the cardinals, in order to submit to them the new work, and he caused the bulls, the briefs, in fine, all the acts, the necessary sequel of the Concordat, to be prepared. The worthy Pontiff was joyous, but agitated. He had the certainty of doing good, and of immolating nothing but the interests of faction to the general good of the Church. But the disapprobation of the old throne and altar party broke forth with violence at Rome, and, although the holy father had put at a distance, from him all the ill-disposed, he heard their bitter words; he was disturbed by them. Cardinal Maury, with his usual acuteness, judging the cause of the emigrants to be lost, and already, perhaps, looking forward with secret satisfaction to the moment when all, now sighing in exile, would be restored to their native land, kept himself aloof in his diocese of Montefiascone, occupying himself solely with the care of a library, which was the charm of his exile. The Pope, in order not to give any umbrage to the First Consul, had, besides, made that cardinal understand that his unrestricted retreat at Montefiascone, was at the moment an expedient of the pontifical government.

The Pope, then, was satisfied, but full of emotion,* and he

* Letter of M. de Cacault, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic at Rome, to the Minister of Foreign Relations:—

"Rome, 8th August, 1801 (20th Thermidor, year X.).

"Citizen Minister,—To inform you of the state of the affair of the Pope's ratification, expected at Paris, I can do no better than transmit you the original letter which I have this moment received from cardinal Gonsalvi.

"This cardinal, having been unable to leave his bed, his Holiness has come to work to-day at the house of his Secretary of State.

"The Sacred College is to concur in the ratification; all the doctors of the first rank are employed, and in motion. The holy father is in the agitation, the inquietude, and the desire of a young wife, who dares not be merry on the festal marriage day. Never has the pontifical court been seen more self-collected, more seriously, and more secretly occupied with the novelty about to burst forth, while France, for whose interest it is, for whom they work, neither intrigues, promises, gives, nor even shines here, according to ancient usage. The First Consul will soon enjoy the accomplishment of his views with regard to an accordance with the Holy See, and that will take place in a novel, simple, and truly respectable manner.

"This will be the work of a hero and of a saint, for the Pope is a man of real piety.

"He has said several times to me: 'Rely on it, that if France, in place of

eagerly pressed the completion of the undertaking so happily begun. The congregation of the cardinals was wholly favourable to the concordat, since its new revision, and they pronounced themselves in an affirmative manner. The Pope, thinking that it was necessary henceforth to cast himself into the arms of the First Consul, and to accomplish with *éclat* a work which had so noble an object as the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France, wished that the ceremony of the ratification should be surrounded with much solemnity. In consequence, he gave his ratification in grand consistory, and, to add to the brilliancy of that pontifical solemnity, he nominated three cardinals. He received M. de Cacault in pomp, and displayed, notwithstanding the straitness of his means, all the luxury that became the occasion. Having to make choice of a legate to send to France, he fixed on the most eminent diplomatist of the Roman court; this was cardinal Caprara, a distinguished personage by his birth (he was of the illustrious family of the Montecuculli), distinguished by his understanding, his experience, his moderation. Formerly ambassador at the court of Joseph II., he had seen the tribulations of the Church in the last century; he had, by his skill and ready wit, relieved the Holy See of many an inconvenience. The First Consul had himself expressed the desire of having near his person this prince of the Church. The Pope hastened to satisfy this desire, and made great efforts to overcome the resistance of the cardinal, aged, infirm, and little disposed to recommence the career of his early youth. However, this repugnance was overcome by the earnest intreaties of the holy father and by the pressing interest of the Church. The Pope wished to confer on cardinal Caprara the highest diplomatic dignity of the Roman court, that of legate *a latere*. This legate has the most extended powers; the cross is carried before him everywhere; he has power to do every thing that is possible away from the Pope. Pius VII. renewed on this occasion the ceremonies of old, in which the venerated sign of their mission was confided to the representatives of St. Peter. A grand consistory was convoked anew, and, in the presence of all the cardinals, of all the foreign ministers, cardinal Caprara received the silver cross, which it was his duty to have carried before him in that republican France, so long a stranger to Catholic pomp.

The First Consul, sensible of the cordial conduct of the

being a dominant power, were prostrate and weak with regard to her enemies, I should not do less for her than I am granting to-day.'

"I do not think it can have often happened that so great a result, on which the tranquillity of France and the welfare of Europe, will henceforward materially depend, could have been obtained without violence, as well as without corruption.

"I have the honour to be yours, respectfully,

"CACAULT."

Pope, testified the kindest consideration for him. He enjoined Murat to spare the Roman States the passage of troops; he made the Cisalpines evacuate the little duchy of Urbino, which they had seized upon pretext of a dispute concerning boundary. He announced the approaching evacuation of Ancona, and, in the interim, sent money to pay the garrison of it, in order to relieve the pontifical treasury of this expense. The Neapolitans, persisting in holding possession of two confine territories belonging to the Holy See, to wit, Benevento and Ponte Corvo, received anew an injunction to evacuate them. The First Consul had also caused one of the fine hotels of Paris to be got ready, and furnished luxuriously, as a lodging for cardinal Caprara, at the expense of the French treasury.

The ratifications had been exchanged; the bulls approved of; the briefs were in course of being expedited throughout all Christendom, to call for the resignations of the ancient diocesans. Cardinal Caprara, notwithstanding his age, had hastened his journey to Paris. Everywhere orders had been given to the authorities to welcome him in a manner conformable to his exalted dignity. They had done so with earnest regard; and the populace of the provinces, seconding their zeal, had given to the representative of the Holy See marks of respect, which proved the dominion of the old religion over the rural population. But there was a dread of putting the jibing people of Paris to the same proof, and every thing was arranged that the cardinal should enter the capital by night. He was received there with eager attentions, and lodged in the hotel prepared for him. He was given to understand, in the most delicate manner, that a part of the expenses of his mission was at the cost of the French government, and that this was a diplomatic usage, intended to be established in reference to the Holy See. The First Consul had sent to the legate's residence two carriages drawn by his finest horses.

Cardinal Caprara was received as a foreign ambassador, but not, as yet, as a representative of the Church. That reception was adjourned to the time of the definitive re-establishment of religion. To institute the new bishops, to chant the *Te Deum*, and to tender to the cardinal-legate the oath due by him to the First Consul, were reserved for one and the same day.

The indispensable formalities by which it was necessary that the publication of the Concordat should be preceded, had taken much more time than was thought of at the commencement, and had led to the period in which the preliminaries of peace had just been signed in London. The First Consul would have been glad to be able to make the *fête* dedicated, on the 18th of Brumaire, to the general peace, coincide with the grand religious solemnity of the restoration of religion. But it was necessary that the resignations of the ancient diocesans should have arrived at Rome, before the approval there

of the new demarcations, and the choice of the new bishops. These resignations demanded by the Pope from the ancient clergy of France, were at that moment the object of general attention. There was a desire to know, from all quarters, how this great act of the Pope and the First Consul would be received. They, hand in hand, appealing to the ancient ministers of religion, whether friends or enemies to the Revolution, scattered through Germany, Russia, England, or Spain, demanded of them the sacrifice of their position, of their party affections, of the very pride of their doctrines to make Church unity triumph, and to re-establish the internal tranquillity of France. How many of them could there be found so sufficiently sensible to this double motive, as to immolate so many personal feelings and interests at once? The result proved the wisdom of the great act which the Pope and the First Consul did at that moment; it proved the dominion that can be exercised over souls by the love of good, nobly invoked by a saintlike pontiff and a hero.

The briefs addressed to the orthodox bishops and to the constitutional bishops were not similar. The brief addressed to the bishops who had refused to recognise the civil constitution of the clergy, treated them as legitimate titulars of their sees, demanded of them to resign in the name of the interest of the Church, in virtue of an offer formerly made to Pius VI., and, in case of refusal, declared them deposed. The language of them was affectionate, sad, but replete with authority.

The brief addressed to the constitutionalists was paternal likewise, was redolent of the mildest indulgence, but did not speak of resignation, seeing that the Church had never recognised the constitutionalists as legitimate bishops. It demanded of them an abjuration of former errors, a return to the bosom of the Church, and to terminate a schism which was at once a scandal and a calamity. It was a manner of inducing their resignation without calling for it, for, to call for it, would have been a recognition of their title which the Holy See could not grant.

We must render equal justice to all men who facilitated this great act of reunion. The constitutional bishops, some of whom would have wished to resist, but the majority of whom, well advised, were sincerely desirous of seconding the First Consul, resigned in a body. The brief, although full of cordiality, annoyed them, because it spoke only of their errors and not of their resignations. They imagined a form of adhesion to the wishes of the Pope, which, without implying any retractation of the past, implied, nevertheless, their submission and their resignation. They declared that they adhered to the new Concordat, and consequently stripped themselves of their episcopal dignity. They were about fifty in number. All submitted, with one exception, viz., bishop Saurine, a man of a very vivid

imagination, of a religious zeal more ardent than enlightened, a priest besides of pure morals, whom the First Consul at a later period called to the episcopacy, after having made him acceptable to the Pope.

This part of the work was not the most difficult. It was, besides, the most easy to be realized immediately, because the constitutionalists were almost all in Paris, under the grasp of the First Consul, and under the influence of the friends who had constituted themselves their defenders and their guides.

The unsworn bishops were scattered through all Europe. There was, however, a certain number of them in France. The immense majority offered a noble example of evangelical piety and submission. Seven resided in Paris, eight in the provinces —in all fifteen. Not one hesitated in the reply to be made to the pontiff and to the new head of the State. They made that reply in language worthy of the best times of the Church. The old bishop of Belloy, a venerable prelate, who had replaced M. de Belsunce at Marseilles, and who was the model of the ancient clergy, hastened to give to his brother-bishops the signal of self-denial. "Full," said he, "of veneration and obedience for the decrees of his Holiness, and wishing always to be united to him in heart and mind, I do not hesitate to deposit in the hands of the holy father, my resignation of the bishopric of Marseilles. It is enough that he thinks it necessary for the preservation of religion in France that I should submit to it."

One of the most learned bishops of the French clergy, the historian of Bossuet and of Fénélon, the bishop of Alais, wrote, "Happy to be able to concur by my resignation, as much as is in my power, to the views of wisdom, of peace, and of conciliation, which his Holiness has adopted, I pray God to bless his pious intentions, and to avert from him the contradictions which might afflict his paternal heart."

The bishop of Acqs wrote to the holy father, "I have not hesitated a moment to immolate myself, as soon as I had learned that this painful sacrifice was necessary to the peace of the country and to the triumph of religion .... May she issue glorious from her ruins! May she rise, I will not say only, on the wreck of all my dearest interests, of all my temporal advantages, but on my very ashes, if I could serve as her expiatory victim! .... May my fellow-citizens return to concord, to faith, to holy morals! Never shall I form any other wishes during my life, and my death will be too happy if I see them accomplished."

Let us confess it, beautiful is the institution which commands such sacrifices and such language. The greatest names of the ancient clergy of ancient France, the Rohans, the Latours du Pin, the Castellanes, the Polignacs, the Clermont-Tonnerres, the Latours d'Auvergne, were found in the list of the bishops who had resigned. There was a general enthusiasm which re-

called to mind the generous sacrifices of the ancient French nobility in the night of the 4th of August. It was the same eager desire to facilitate, by a great act of self-denial, the execution of that Concordat, which M. de Cacault had designated as the work of a hero and of a saint.

The bishops who had taken refuge in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, followed this example for the most part. There remained the eighteen bishops who had retired to England. These latter were waited for, to see if they could escape the hostile influences which surrounded them. The British government, actuated at the time by a friendly spirit towards France, wished to have nothing to do with their determination. But the princes of the house of Bourbon, the heads of the Chouan party, the instigators of civil war, the accomplices of the infernal machine, Georges and his associates, were in London, living on the means given to the emigrants. They surrounded the eighteen prelates, resolved to hinder them from completing, by their adherence, the union of all the French clergy about the Pope, and about general Bonaparte. Long deliberations were set on foot. Amongst the refractory were found the archbishop of Narbonne, to whom very temporal interests were attributed, for with his see, he would lose immense revenues; and the bishop of Saint-Pol-de-Léon, who had created for himself a post, said to be lucrative, that of the distributing the British subsidies among the transported priests. Those factions acted on the bishops, and seduced thirteen of them. But they met with a noble resistance from the five other prelates, at the head of whom were found two of the most illustrious, of the most imposing, of the old clergy, M. de Cicé, archbishop of Bordeaux, formerly keeper of the seals under Louis XVI., a personage in whom was recognised a superior political mind; M. de Boisgelin, a learned bishop, and of great seignieural possessions, who had in former times displayed the attitude of a worthy priest, faithful to his religion, but by no means inimical to the lights of the age he lived in. They, with their three colleagues, MM. d'Osmond, de Noé, and du Plessis d'Argentré, sent in their adherence. Almost all the ancient clergy had then submitted. The work of the Pope was accomplished with less bitterness to his feelings than, at first, he had apprehended. All those resignations inserted in succession in the *Moniteur*, side by side with the treaties signed with the courts of Europe, with Russia, England, Bavaria, Portugal, produced an immense effect, of which contemporaries have retained a deep recollection. If any thing made the overwhelming influence of the new government be felt, it was that respectful, earnest submission of two hostile churches, the one devoted to the Revolution, but corrupted by the demon of disputation; the other, haughty, proud of its orthodoxy, of the greatness of its names, infected by the spirit of emigration, animated with sincere royalism, and believing, besides, that time was sufficient

to render her victorious. This triumph was one of the finest, the most deserved, the most universally felt.

The 18th Brumaire, fixed for the grand *fête* of the general peace, was approaching. The First Consul was seized with one of those personal feelings, which often, in men, are mingled with the noblest resolutions. He wished to enjoy *the result* of his work, and to be able to celebrate the re-establishment of religious peace on the 18th Brumaire. But to do so, two things were necessary; first, that they should have sent from Rome the bull relative to the diocesan arrangements; and, secondly, that cardinal Caprara might have the faculty of installing the new bishops. Had these things been done, the sixty bishops might have been nominated and consecrated, and a solemn *Te Deum* sung in their presence in the church of Notre Dame. Unfortunately, at Rome, they had been waiting for the reply of the five French bishops, who had retired to the north of Germany, and, as to the faculty of giving canonical investiture, it had not been conferred on cardinal Caprara, because never had such a power been deputed, even to a legate *à latere*. It was already the 1st of November (10th Brumaire), there were only a few days left. The First Consul sent for cardinal Caprara, spoke to him in the bitterest manner, complained, with a vivacity which was neither becoming nor deserved, of the little assistance that he obtained from the pontifical government for the accomplishment of his projects, and produced a deep emotion in the worthy cardinal.* But he very

* Letter from cardinal Caprara to cardinal Gonsalvi.

"Paris, 2nd of November, 1801.

"Having just returned from Malmaison, about 11 o'clock at night, I sit down to detail to you the substance of the interview I have had with the First Consul. He did not say one word upon the subject of the five articles which I annexed to my letter of the 1st of November; but, with his characteristic vivacity, and, I must add also, with marked indications of displeasure, he launched out into the most bitter complaints against all Romans, saying that they wished to lead him a dance, and that they were trying to ensnare him, by their eternal procrastination in expediting the bull of circumscription, and that they added to the delay by not sending the Pope's letters to the bishops in proper time; and further still, by not sending them by couriers, as every other government would have done which felt an interest in a negotiation of this kind; that they were trying to ensnare him, for they sought, by making a bugabo of him, to deter the Pope from assenting to the nominations which he might make of the constitutional bishops: and, continuing to talk like a torrent, he repeated precisely every thing that councillor Portalis had told me yesterday evening in the presence of Monsignor Spina.

"After an attack so vehement, in language so full of invective, I took upon myself to justify the accused Romans; when he, interrupting me, said, 'I will listen to no justification; I make but one exception, and that is the Pope, for whom I feel respect and affection.' .... It appearing to me that at this moment he was less excited than at the beginning of the conversation, I endeavoured to make him feel, that, entertaining an affection for his Holiness, he ought to give some proof of it, by sparing him the pain of nominating constitutional bishops. On this suggestion being made, he resumed his previous angry tone, and replied, 'The constitutional bishops shall be appointed by me,

speedily perceived his errors, and sought as quickly to repair them. He immediately felt that he was wrong, and, wishing to soften the effect produced by his vehemence, he kept the cardinal a whole day at Malmaison, charmed him by his grace and his kindness, and consoled him for the hastiness of the morning.

Letters were written to Rome, and a respectable priest, M. de Pancemont, curé of Saint Sulpice, afterwards bishop of Vannes, was despatched to Germany to fetch the impatiently-expected reply of the five bishops. However, the 18th Brumaire passed over before the arrival of the desired acts. The *éclat* of that day was, nevertheless, great enough to make the First Consul forget what might be additionally wanting to it. At length the answers of Rome arrived. The Pope, still inclined to do what he, whom he called his "*dear* son," desired, sent the bull for the settlement of the dioceses, and the power of instituting the new bishops, conferred on the legate in a manner unprecedented. As a compensation for so much deference, he desired one thing, which he confided to the skill of cardinal Caprara, namely, that he might be spared the vexation of instituting constitutionalists.

Thenceforward nothing any longer opposed the proclamation of the great religious act accomplished after so much labour, but the propitious moment had been allowed to pass. The session of the year X. was opened, according to custom, reckoning from the 1st Frimaire (22nd of November, 1801). The Tribunate, the Legislative Body, the Senate, were assembled:

---

and their number shall be fifteen. I have conceded all in my power, and I will not deviate one iota from the determination at which I have arrived.' ....

As to the chiefs of the sectarians, councillor Portalis, who was present, assured me that I might be easy upon that point, as well as upon the subject of the subordinates; but on the subject of the submission being mooted, the First Consul exclaimed, 'It is arrogance to demand such a thing, and it would be cowardice to yield to it;' then, without waiting for an answer, he entered into a wide field of discursive argument on canonical institutions, and, completely throwing aside his military character, held forth for a very long time in a strain worthy of a canon. I will not say that he tried to convince, but only to keep me at arm's length. At last he wound up by observing, 'But the bishops do not make profession of faith, nor take the oath;' councillor Portalis having said, 'Yes they do;' 'Well,' concluded he, 'that act of obedience to the Pope is of more value than a thousand submissions.' Then turning to me, he laconically said, 'Endeavour to arrange that the bull of circumscription be soon here, and that the other, regarding which I spoke to you on a former occasion, may not, at Rome, meet with the same fate which the Pope's letters to the bishops have experienced, and which, as I am apprised, were not received by any of the several parties in Germany until the 21st of the last month.'

"This closed the interview. I ought, however, to add that, at its conclusion, about one o'clock in the day, he took an airing with madame, and was absent for about an hour, but previously insisted that I should stay to dinner, although I was already engaged to dine with his brother Joseph, to whom however, he sent word: certainly, without exaggeration, from dinner time until ten o'clock at night, he never ceased to talk to me, walking nearly all the while up and down the room, in his usual manner, and descanting upon every imaginable topic in politics and economy which concerned us."

active resistance and scandalous remarks were made against the Concordat. The First Consul did not at all like that such bursts should interfere to disturb an august ceremony, and he resolved to await the re-establishment of the forms of worship until he had brought round or crushed the Tribunate. Now the delays were to come from him, and it was the Holy See that was to show itself pressing. However, the sudden difficulties, which he was likely to meet with proved the merit and the courage of his resolution. It was not only to the Concordat, but to the Civil Code itself, and to some of the treaties which had just secured the peace of the world, that active opposition was threatened. Proud of his works, strong in the public approval, the First Consul was resolved to proceed to the greatest extremities. He spoke only of crushing the bodies that should resist him. Thus were the human passions about to mingle their impulses with the finest works of a great man and of a great epoch.

BOOK XIII.

THE TRIBUNATE.

Internal Administration—Suppression of Highway Robbery and Repair of the Roads—Revival of Commerce—Exports and Imports of the Year 1801—Material Results of the French Revolution, in Respect to Agriculture, Manufactures, and Population—Influence of the Prefects and Sub-prefects on the Administration—Order and Celerity in the Despatch of Business—Councillors of State on Circuit—Discussion of the Civil Code in the Council of State—Brilliant Winter of 1801-1802—Extraordinary Resort of Foreigners to Paris—Court of the First Consul—Organisation of his Civil and Military Establishment—The Consular Guard—Prefects of the Palace and Ladies of Honour—Sisters of the First Consul—Hortense de Beauharnais marries Louis Bonaparte—Messrs. Fox and De Calonne in Paris—Prosperity and Luxury of all Classes—Approach of the Session of the Year X.—Warm Opposition raised against some of the best Plans of the First Consul—Causes of this Opposition, shown not only by Members of the Deliberative Assemblies, but by some Distinguished Officers of the Army—Conduct of Generals Lannes, Augereau, and Moreau—Opening of the Session—Dupuis, Author of the Work on the Origin of all Religions, is elected President of the Legislative Body—Ballot for the Places vacant in the Senate—Nomination of the Abbé Gregoire, contrary to the Propositions of the First Consul—Violent Explosion in the Tribunate, on Account of the Word *Subject* introduced into the Treaty with Russia—Opposition to the Civil Code—Discussion in the Council of State respecting the Course to be adopted under these Circumstances—It is resolved to await the Discussion of the first Sections of the Civil Code—The Tribunate rejects those First Sections—Result of the Ballot for the Places vacant in the Senate—The First Consul proposes old Generals not selected from among his Creatures—The Tribunate and the Legislative Body reject them, and agree to propose M. Daunou, known for his Opposition to the Government—Warm Speech made by the First Consul to a Meeting of Senators—Threats of an Arbitrary Measure—The Opponents, being intimidated, submit, and contrive a Subterfuge to annul the Effect of the First Ballots—Cambacérès dissuades the First Consul from any illegal Measure, and advises him to get rid of the Opposition Members by means of Article XXXVIII. of the Constitution, which prescribes that the first fifth of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate shall go out in the Year X.—The First Consul adopts this Idea—Suspension of all the Legislative Labours—Advantage is taken of it to assemble at Lyons an Italian Diet, by the Title of Consulta—Before leaving Paris, the First Consul despatches a Fleet with Troops for St. Domingo—Plan for the reconquest of that Colony—Negotiations of Amiens—Object of the Consulta convoked at Lyons—Various Constitutions proposed for Italy—Plans of the First Consul relative to this Subject—Creation of the Italian Republic—General Bonaparte proclaimed President of that Republic—Enthusiasm of the Italians and French assembled at Lyons—Grand Review of the Army of Egypt—Return of the First Consul to Paris.

BOOK XIII.

THE TRIBUNATE.

We have seen by means of what persevering and skilful efforts the First Consul, after conquering Europe by his victories, had reconciled it with France by his policy; we have seen by means of what efforts he had reconciled the Romish Church with the French Republic, and put an end to the evils of schism. His efforts for making the high roads safe and practicable for travellers; for giving activity to commerce and industry; for introducing order into the finances and regularity into the administration; for digesting a code of civil laws adapted to our manners; in short, for organizing French society in all its parts, had been neither less constant nor less successful.

That race of robbers, composed of deserters from the army, and soldiers disbanded after the civil war, who attacked wealthy landed proprietors in the country, and travellers on the high roads, plundered the public coffers, and struck terror throughout the land, had just been suppressed with the utmost rigour. These banditti had taken advantage of the moment, when the march of almost all the troops out of the country at once had deprived the interior of the forces requisite for its security, to spread themselves over it. But since the peace of Lunéville and the return of part of our troops to France, the situation was no longer the same. Numerous moveable columns, accompanied at first by military commissions, and subsequently by those special tribunals the institution of which we have recorded, had scoured the roads in every direction, and chastised with merciless energy those who infested them. Several hundreds of them had been shot in the space of six months, and not a voice had been raised in behalf of the villains, impure relics of the civil war. The others, completely disheartened, had given up their arms and made their submission. Safety was re-established on the high roads; and though, in the months of January and February, 1801, it was scarcely possible to travel from Paris to Rouen or from Paris to Orleans, without running the risk of being murdered, one might, at the end of that year, traverse all France, without being liable to meet with any

accident. There might at furthest be some remnants of those bands in the heart of Bretagne or in the interior of the Cevennes. It was not long before they were completely dispersed.

We have already seen that the ruinous state of the roads in France, owing to ten years' troubles, had almost put an end to communication by means of them; we have seen how a turnpike toll had been substituted in place of the ancient *corvée*; how, under the system of that toll, at once incommodious and insufficient, the roads had fallen into a state of complete decay; finally, how the First Consul had, in last Nivôse, devoted an extraordinary subsidy to the repair of twenty of the principal high roads running through the territory of the Republic. He had himself superintended the application of that subsidy, and, by incessant attention, excited the zeal of the engineers to the highest degree. Every one of his aides-de-camp, or of the high functionaries who travelled in France, was questioned by him to ascertain if his orders were executed. The funds had this year been voted rather late: the end of the year had been extremely wet, and there was, moreover, a want of hands. This was owing to the bringing suddenly into cultivation immense tracts of land, and above all, to the civil war. These various causes had retarded the operations; but the improvement was nevertheless remarkable. The First Consul had just devoted a fresh subsidy out of the estimates for the year X. (1801 and 1802) to the repair of forty-two other roads. This subsidy, borrowed from the general funds of the treasury, was to be added to the produce of the tolls. Including the sum of 2,000,000 not expended in the year IX., 10,000,000 extraordinary assigned upon the year X., and 16,000,000 produced by the tolls, the sum total devoted to the maintenance of the roads, for the current year, would be 28,000,000. This was twice or thrice as much as had been allotted to them in former periods. Thus the repairs proceeded with great rapidity, and there was every prospect that, in the course of 1802, the roads in France would be brought into a perfectly fit state for travelling.

Orders were given for the formation of new communications between the different parts of France, old and new. Four high roads between Italy and France were in progress. That of the Simplon, which has been several times mentioned, was advancing rapidly. That which was to unite Piedmont and Savoy by Mont Cenis, was already begun. A third, by Mont Genèvre, to unite Piedmont and the south of France, was ordered. The engineers repaired to the spot to make the plans for each. The repair of the high road of the Col de Tende, crossing the Maritime Alps, was undertaken. Thus the barrier of the Alps, between France and Italy, was about to be thrown down by means of these four roads, passable for all sorts of vehicles,

civil or military. The miracle of the passage of the St. Bernard would henceforward be needless, whenever it should be requisite to hasten to the assistance of Italy.

The canal of St. Quentin was proceeding. The First Consul had gone himself to inspect the canal of the Ourcq, and had ordered the works to be resumed. The canal from Aigues-Mortes to Beaucaire, assigned to a company, was in the course of construction. The government had encouraged the company by making vast grants of land to it. The new bridges over the Seine, contracted for with an association of capitalists, were nearly finished. These numerous and useful enterprises strongly attracted the public attention. The minds of men, always warm in France, turned with a sort of enthusiasm from the glories of war to the glories of peace.

During the year IX. (1800-1801) commerce had already made a great advance, though the naval war had continued during the whole of that year. The imports, which, in the year VIII., had been 325,000,000 only, had amounted, in the year IX., to 417,000,000. It was an increase of nearly one-fourth in the space of a single year. This increase was owing to two causes—the rapidly increased consumption of colonial produce, and the importation, in considerable quantity, of raw materials employed in manufactures, such as cotton, wool, oil—which was an evident sign of the revival of our manufactures. The exports had felt much less of this general tendency to increase, because our foreign commerce was not yet re-established in the year IX. (1800-1801), and because the fabrication of productions must necessarily precede their exportation. The total of the exports, which, in the year VIII., amounted to no more than 271,000,000, had nevertheless risen, in the year IX., to 305,000,000. This increase of 34,000,000 was owing particularly to extraordinary shipments of our wines and brandies, which had produced considerable commercial activity at Bordeaux. The reader will also remark what a difference those ten years of naval warfare had produced between our exports and our imports, since we imported to the amount of 417,000,000, and had exported to the amount of 305,000,000 only. But the restoration of our manufactures very soon made up the difference.

The silks of the South began again to flourish. Lyons, the favourite city of the First Consul, applied itself anew to the manufacture of its beautiful productions. Out of 15,000 looms, formerly engaged in weaving silks, not more than 2000 were at work during the time of our troubles. Seven thousand were already set a-going. Lille, St. Quentin, Rouen, shared in this activity; and the seaports, which were about to be relieved from blockade, were equipping numerous vessels. The First Consul, on his part, was making preparations for the re-establishment of our colonies, the object and extent of which will presently be seen.

It was desirable to ascertain the state in which the Revolution left France in regard to agriculture and population. Statistical inquiries, which were impossible while collective administrations managed the provincial affairs, had become practicable since the institution of prefectures and sub-prefectures. Orders were issued for a census, which had furnished singular results, confirmed, however, by the councils-general of departments, which met for the first time in the year IX. The returns of the population were then completed for sixty-seven departments, out of the 102 of which France was composed in 1801. The population of these sixty-seven departments, amounting, in 1789, to 21,176,243, had increased, in 1800, to 22,297,443. This was an augmentation of 1,100,000 souls, that is, about one-nineteenth. This result, scarcely credible, if it had not been confirmed by the declarations of a great number of councils-general, proved that, after all, the mischief done by great social revolutions is more apparent than real, as far as material things are concerned, at least, and that, at any rate, the evil is effaced with prodigious rapidity. Agriculture was on the advance almost everywhere. The abolition of the rangerships had been extremely beneficial in most of the provinces. If, in destroying the game, it had destroyed one of the least objectionable pleasures of the wealthy classes, it had, on the other hand, delivered agriculture from ruinous annoyances. The sale of a great number of extensive estates had caused considerable tracts to be brought into cultivation, and given a value to a part of the soil which before lay unproductive. Many church lands, which had passed out of the hands of a negligent tenant into those of an intelligent and active proprietor, increased every day the mass of agricultural produce. The revolution which has taken place among us in landed property, and which, by dividing it among a thousand hands, has prodigiously increased the number of proprietors, as well as the extent of the cultivated lands—this revolution was then accomplished, and was already producing immense results. The processes of agriculture, it is true, were not yet materially improved, but the tillage of the soil was extended in a wonderful manner.

The forests, both of the State and the communes, suffered from the administrative disorder of recent times. This was one of the objects to which it was urgently necessary to attend; for lands planted with wood were cleared, and neither the properties of the State nor those of private individuals were spared. The administration of the finances, possessing a great quantity of forests, in consequence of the confiscation of the estates of emigrants, knew not yet how to superintend and to manage them to advantage. Many proprietors, either absent or intimidated, abandoned the defence of the woods of which they were the possessors, some really, others fictitiously, on behalf of pro-

scribed families. This was the consequence of a state of things to which, fortunately, an end was about to be put. The First Consul had bestowed particular attention on the preservation of the sylvan wealth of France, and had already begun to re-establish order and respect for property. A rural code was everywhere wanted, to prevent the damage that was done by cattle.

The new institution of prefects and sub-prefects, created by the law of Pluviôse, year VIII., had produced immediate results. The disorder and the carelessness of collective administrations were succeeded by regularity, promptness of execution, anticipated and necessary consequences of the unity of power. The affairs of the State and of the communes had alike benefited by it, for they had at last found agents who attended to them with incessant assiduity. The preparation of the assessments and the collection of the tax, formerly so deplorably neglected, were not behindhand anywhere. Order began likewise to be introduced into the revenues and the expenses of the communes. Several departments of their administration, however, still required to be remedied. The hospitals, for instance, were in a wretched condition. The loss of a portion of their revenues, by the sale of their property, and by the abolition of certain rates, reduced them to extreme distress. In some towns, the *octroi* had been introduced, and the re-establishment of the indirect contributions had been tried on a small scale. But these *octrois*, badly placed as yet, were neither sufficient nor employed generally enough. The foundling department also suffered from the general perturbation. There were to be seen great numbers of deserted children, for whom public charity did not provide, or who were committed to the care of unfortunate nurses, whose wages were not paid. The re-establishment of the former Sisters of Charity, for the service of the hospitals, was almost everywhere called for.

The civil registers, taken from the clergy and given to the municipal officers, were most negligently kept. To introduce order into this department of the administration, so important to the state of families, there were required not only zeal and vigilance on the part of the administrators, but also improvements in the law, which was still insufficient or faulty. This was one of the objects which the Civil Code, now under discussion in the Council of State, was destined to regulate.

Complaints were made of the too great division of communes and of their infinite number, and the union of several of them into one was demanded. That beautiful French system of administration, which is now completed, and surpasses in regularity, in precision, in vigour, all the administrations in Europe, was thus rapidly organised under the creative and all-powerful hand of the First Consul. He devised one of the most efficacious methods for informing himself of every thing, and for introducing

into this vast machine such improvements as it was susceptible of. He commissioned some of the ablest of the councillors of State to travel through France, and to observe on the spot how the administration worked. These councillors, on their arrival in the departments, summoned thither the prefects of the neighbouring departments and the heads of the different services, and held councils, in which those officers revealed to them the difficulties which could not be foreseen, the unexpected obstacles arising from the nature of things, the deficiencies in the laws or in the regulations made during the last ten years. They examined, at the same time, if that hierarchy of prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors, performed its functions with order and facility; if the persons were well chosen; if they showed that they were thoroughly impressed with the intentions of the government; if they were, like it, firm, laborious, impartial, free from all party-spirit. These tours produced the best effect. The councillors sent on this errand stimulated the zeal of the functionaries, and brought back to the Council of State information, useful either for the decision of current matters, or for the digesting and improving of the administrative regulations. Encouraged more especially by the energy of the First Consul, they did not hesitate to denounce to him such agents as were either weak, incapable, or animated by a bad spirit.

The solicitude of the First Consul was not confined to this survey of the country by the councillors of State during their tours. The numerous aides-de-camp despatched by him, sometimes to the armies, sometimes to the seaports, to communicate to them the energy of his determinations, had orders to make observations by the way, and to report every thing to their general. Colonels Lacuée, Lauriston, Savary, sent to Antwerp, Boulogne, Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Genoa, Otranto, were directed, on their return, to stop in every town, to see, to hear, and to take notes of every thing—the condition of the roads, the state of commercial affairs, the conduct of the public functionaries, the wishes of the inhabitants, the public opinion. None of them failed to obey; none was afraid to tell the truth to a just and all-powerful chief. That chief who then thought only of doing good, because that good, infinite in its extent and its diversity, sufficed to absorb the ardour of his soul, warmly welcomed the truth which he had provoked, and courageously turned it to account, whether he was obliged to punish a culpable functionary, to repair a defect in the new institutions, or to turn his attention to a subject which had hitherto escaped his indefatigable scrutiny.*

* Here are a few specimens of the instructions given to his aides-de-camp on mission:—

"To Citizen Lauriston, Aide-de-camp.

"Paris, 7th Pluviôse, year IX. (Jan 27th, 1801.)

"You will set out, citizen, and go to Rochefort. You will inspect most

At this moment, a spectacle struck all eyes, it was the discussion of the Civil Code in the Council of State. The want of this code was certainly the most urgent of the wants of France. The old civil legislation, composed of the feudal law, the common

---

minutely the port and the arsenal, addressing yourself for this purpose to the maritime prefect.

"You will bring back to me memorials on the following subjects:—

"1. The number of men, in the most exact detail, on board the two frigates which are about to sail, and the inventory of all matters belonging to artillery, or others, which those frigates have on board. You will stay at Rochefort till they have sailed.

"2. How many frigates are left in the road?

"3. A particular report respecting each of the three ships, the *Foudroyant*, the *Duguay-Trouin*, and the *Aigle*. In what time will each of those ships be ready to sail?

"4. A particular report respecting each of the frigates, *la Vertu*, *la Cybèle*, *la Volontaire*, *la Thétis*, *l'Embuscade*, and *la Franchise*.

"5. A return of all the muskets, pistols, swords, and cannon-balls, which have arrived in that port for maritime equipments.

"6. Are there in the magazines ship provisions sufficient to supply six ships of the line for six months, independently of the three above mentioned?

"7. Lastly, have all measures been taken for recruiting the sailors, and for obtaining from Bordeaux and Nantes provisions, cordage, and all that is necessary for the equipment of a squadron?

"If you foresee that you shall have to stay at Rochefort more than six days, you will send me your first report by post. You will not fail to inform the prefect that I am of opinion that the minister of the marine has taken all necessary measures to enable nine sail to put to sea from Rochefort at the beginning of Ventôse. You perceive that this must be said to the prefect in great secrecy.

"*You will avail yourself of all circumstances to collect, in all the places through which you pass, particulars relative to the march of the administrations and to the public spirit.*

"If the departure of the frigates is delayed, I authorise you to go to Bordeaux and to return by Nantes. You will bring me a memorial concerning the frigates that are equipping.

"I salute you.

"BONAPARTE."

To Citizen Lacuée, Aide-de-camp.

"Paris, 9th Ventôse, year IX. (Feb. 23, 1801.)

"You will go, citizen, with all speed to Toulon; you will deliver the accompanying letter to rear-admiral Ganteaume. You will inspect all the ships of the squadron, as well as the arsenal: you will take care to ascertain yourself the force and the number of the English ships blockading the port of Toulon. If it is less than that of rear-admiral Ganteaume, you will urge him not to allow himself to be blockaded by an inferior force.

"If circumstances decide general Ganteaume to continue his mission, you will prevail upon him to take on board at Toulon as many troops as he can carry. For this purpose you will see the military commandant, to remove all obstacles, so that he may be supplied with the troops.

"You will give rear-admiral Ganteaume to understand that he has been in general rather blamed for his cruise to Mahon, because he has roused the attention of admiral Warren, whose only object was to defend Mahon.

"If rear-admiral Ganteaume decides to complete his mission, you will stay at Toulon four days after his departure.

"If, on the contrary, news from sea should lead you to think that he will

law, and the Roman law, was no longer adapted to a society revolutionised from top to bottom. The old laws respecting marriage, and those which had since been hastily enacted respecting divorce and successions, were not adapted either to the new state of society or to a moral and regular order of things. A commission, composed of Messrs. Portalis, Tronchet, Bigot de Préameneu, and Malleville, had drawn up a sketch of the Civil Code. This sketch had been sent to all the tribunals, that they might examine and make their observations upon it. In consequence of this examination and these observations, the sketch had been modified, and at length submitted to the

---

remain too long, you will return to Paris, *after staying fifteen days in Toulon, six at Marseilles, four at Avignon, and five or six at Lyons.*

"You will take care to bring back to me a return of every thing that has been put on board each ship; of the ships and frigates that have sailed from Toulon since the 1st Vendémiaire, year IX.; of the state of the arsenal; *and notes relative to the public functionaries of the country through which you will pass, and also to the spirit that prevails there.*

"You will take advantage of all the couriers despatched by the maritime prefect to give me news of the squadron, of the sea, and of the English.

"You will encourage by your observations all the captains of ships, and point out to them of what immense importance their expedition is to the general peace.

"I salute you. "BONAPARTE."

To Citizen Lauriston.

"Paris, 30th Pluviôse, year IX. (Feb. 19th, 1801)

"I have received, citizen, your different letters, and your last of the 9th Pluviôse. I beg you to make, in secret, inquiries concerning the administration of the provisions, the service of which seems to excite complaints.

"Contrive to bring me, on your return, a detailed statement of the northern commodities furnished in the course of the year X. by Lechie and Co. They pretend to have at this moment 1,700,000 francs' worth in warehouse.

"What quantity of timber has arrived at Havre since the peace, and are they at last at work finishing the five ships that are building?

"In repassing to Lorient, see how many ships are building there, and the time when each of them will be ready to put to sea. Inspect all the gunners and grenadiers of the coast-guard, that you may be able to give me an account what sort of men they are, and what it will be possible to do with them at the moment of the definitive peace.

"Lastly, see at Nantes to ascertain what northern commodities have been received in the year X., and what hemp there is left, and if the shipment of timber for Brest is going on. *Stop two days at Vannes, to make suitable observations on the public spirit.*

"In all these observations, endeavour to see for yourself, and without the advice of the authorities.

"Let me know what character one Charron has left at Lorient, and stop there three or four days, *to observe the conduct of the administration in that port.*

"*In short, miss no opportunity of seeing for yourself, and fixing your opinion respecting the civil, naval, and military administration.*

"*Inform yourself in every department what prospect there is of the next harvest.*

"I suppose that you will bring me notes relative to the manner in which the troops are paid and clothed, and to the state of the principal military hospitals.

"I salute you. "BONAPARTE."

Council of State, which had just been discussing it, article by article, for several months. The First Consul, who attended all these meetings, had displayed, while presiding at them, a method, a clearness, frequently a depth of views, which were matter of astonishment to every one. They were not surprised to find him, who was accustomed to direct armies, to govern conquered provinces, an administrator, for that quality is indispensable to a great general; but that he should possess the quality of legislator did appear extraordinary. His knowledge of this subject was rapidly acquired. Interesting himself in every thing, because he comprehended every thing, he asked Cambacérès, the consul, for some law books, and especially for the materials prepared in the time of the Convention for the digest of the new Civil Code. He had devoured them, like those books of religious controversy, with which he had provided himself, when engaged upon the Concordat. Classing in his head the general principles of civil law, combining with these few rapidly collected notions his profound knowledge of man, his perfect clearness of understanding, he had soon qualified himself for directing that important business, and he had even furnished the discussion with a great number of just, new, and profound ideas. Sometimes an insufficient acquaintance with these subjects caused him to support strange ideas; but he soon suffered himself to be led back to the truth by the learned men who surrounded him, and he was the master of them all, when it was necessary to draw from the conflict of contrary opinions the most natural and the most rational conclusion. The principal service rendered by the First Consul was that of bringing to the completion of this fine monument a firm mind and persevering application, and thereby conquering the two great difficulties which had hitherto baffled preceding attempts, the infinite diversity of opinions, and the impossibility of proceeding uninterruptedly with the business amidst the agitations of the time. When the discussion had been long, diffuse, obstinate, the First Consul was able to sum up and to decide it by a word; and, moreover, he obliged every body else to work by working himself for whole days together. The minutes of these remarkable meetings were printed and published. However, before they were sent to the *Moniteur*, Cambacérès took care to revise them, and to suppress what might not be suitable for publication, either when the First Consul had expressed opinions, sometimes singular, or treated of questions relative to manners with a familiarity of language which ought not to go beyond the circle of a privy council. There was left, therefore, in the minutes, nothing but the ideas of the First Consul, sometimes rectified, frequently discoloured, but always striking. The public was astounded, and became accustomed to consider him as the sole author of every thing good and great that was done in France. It even took a kind of pleasure in seeing as legislator him

whom it had seen as general, diplomatist, administrator, and constantly superior in these widely different characters.

The first book of the Civil Code was finished, and it was one of the numerous bills (*projets*) which were about to be submitted to the Legislative Body. The pacification of France and its internal reorganization were thus proceeding at an equal pace. Though all the evil was not repaired, though all the good was not accomplished, yet the comparison of the present with the past filled men's minds with satisfaction and hope. All the good effected was ascribed to the First Consul, and not unjustly; for, according to the testimony of his assiduous fellow-labourer, Cambacérès, he directed the whole of the proceedings, attended himself to the details, and *did more in every department than those to whom it was specially committed.*

The man who governed France from 1799 to 1815 had, no doubt, in his career, intoxicating days of glory; but, assuredly, neither he nor France, which he had seduced, ever witnessed days like these, days when greatness was accompanied by more wisdom, and particularly by that wisdom which holds out a hope of duration. He had just given, after victory, a most glorious peace, and what he never afterwards could obtain—a maritime peace; he had given, after chaos, complete order; he had still left a certain liberty, not all the liberty that was desirable, but as much, at least, as was possible on the morrow of a sanguinary revolution; to all the parties he had done good; only excepting the transportation of the hundred and odd revolutionary proscripts, condemned without trial after the affair of the infernal machine, he had respected the laws; and that act itself, culpable because it was illegal, was not thought of in that immensity of good. Finally, Europe, reconciled with the Republic, feeling without saying that she had been wrong in wishing to interfere in a revolution which did not concern her, and that the unparalleled greatness of France was the just consequence of an unjust aggression heroically repulsed, Europe eagerly came to lay her homage at the feet of the First Consul, happy in being able to say, for the sake of her own dignity, that she had made peace only with a revolutionist full of genius, the glorious restorer of social principles.

Certainly, if one could but stop at the wonders of these first times, history, in treating of this reign, would say that nothing greater, nothing more complete, was ever seen upon earth. All this was written in the eager, admiring faces of those men of all ranks and of all nations, who pressed around the First Consul. An extraordinary influx of foreigners poured into Paris, to see France, to see general Bonaparte, and most of them had the honour of being presented to him by the ministers of their respective governments. His court, for he had formed one, was at once military and civil, austere and elegant. He had made an addition to it since the preceding year; he had composed a

military household for himself and the other consuls, and given a princely establishment to Madame Bonaparte.

The consular guard was composed of four battalions of infantry, each 1200 strong, some of them grenadiers, the others chasseurs; and of two regiments of cavalry, the first of mounted grenadiers, the second of mounted chasseurs. They were both composed of the finest and bravest men in the army. A numerous and well served artillery completed this guard, and made it an absolute war division, provided with all arms, and amounting to about 6000 men. A brilliant staff commanded these superb troops! There was a colonel to each battalion, and a general of brigade to two united battalions. Four lieutenant-generals, one of infantry, one of cavalry, one of artillery, one of engineers, commanded alternately the whole corps for one decade, and did duty about the consuls. It was a corps of picked men, in which the best soldiers found a recompense for their good conduct, which surrounded the government with a splendour conformable with its warlike character, and which, on the day of battle, presented an invincible reserve. It will be recollected that the battalion of the grenadiers of the consular guard had nearly saved the army at Marengo. To this particular staff of the consular guard the First Consul had added a military governor for the palace of the Tuileries, accompanied by two officers of the staff with the title of adjutants. This governor was Duroc, the aide-de-camp, who was always employed in delicate missions. No officer was fitter for maintaining in the palace of the government that order and decorum which harmonised with the taste of the First Consul and the spirit of the time. It was necessary to temper this military display by a certain civil state. M. Benezech, a councillor of State, had been appointed in the first year to preside at receptions, and to receive with due honours either the foreign ministers or the high personages admitted to the consuls. Four civil officers, with the title of prefects of the palace, succeeded M. Benezech in this office. Four ladies of the palace were given to Madame Bonaparte, to assist in doing the honours of the First Consul's drawing-room. As soon as it was known that this organization of the palace was preparing, numerous candidates came forward, even from among the families belonging to what was called the *ancien régime*. It was not yet the high nobility, those who formerly filled the apartments of Versailles, that presented themselves to solicit; the moment for their submission had not yet arrived. Still they were families of distinction in past times, which had not figured in the emigration, and were the first to approach a powerful government, which, by its glory, rendered service about it honourable to any body. General Bonaparte selected for prefects of the palace M. Benezech, who had already performed the functions, Messrs. Didelot and de Lucay, engaged under the old system in the financial department, M. de Remusat in the magistracy. The four ladies of the palace, charged to do its

honours by the side of Madame Bonaparte, were Mesdames de Luçay, de Lauriston, de Talhouet, and de Remusat. The most arrant slanderers of the emigrant drawing-rooms of Paris had nothing to allege against the fitness of these selections; and reasonable persons, who require no more of courts than what decorum renders necessary, had no fault to find with that military and civil organization. In fact, in a republic, as in a monarchy, the palace of the heads of the State must be guarded and surrounded by an imposing display of the public force; in the interior of that palace there must be men, women, chosen to do the honours of it either to illustrious foreigners or to distinguished citizens, who are admitted to the first magistrates of the republic. In this point, the court of the First Consul was imposing and worthy of him. It received a certain grace from his wife and his sisters, all remarkable either for manners, understanding, or beauty. We have elsewhere adverted to the brothers of the First Consul: this is the proper place to notice his sisters. The eldest sister of the First Consul, Madame Elisa Bacciochi, not remarkable for her person, was a woman of superior understanding, and drew around her the most distinguished literary men of the time, such as Messrs. Suard, Morellet, and Fontanes. The second, Caroline Murat, who had married the general of that name, ambitious and beautiful, intoxicated with her brother's fortune, striving to turn it to the best account for herself and her husband, was one of the women of this new court who gave it most animation and elegance. The third, Pauline Bonaparte, who had married general Leclerc, and who afterwards married a prince Borghese, was one of the greatest beauties of her time. She had not yet provoked slander so much as she afterwards did, and, if her inconsiderate conduct sometimes grieved her brother, the passionate affection which she felt for him touched him and disarmed his severity. Madame Bonaparte was above them all from her position as wife of the First Consul, and charmed by her exquisite grace both the French and the foreigners admitted into the palace of the government. Inevitable and already observable rivalries between members of that family, so near to the throne, were repressed by general Bonaparte, who, though he loved his relations, treated with military roughness those who disturbed the peace which he desired to see reigning around him.

An event of some importance had just occurred in the consular family; this was the marriage of Hortense de Beauharnais with Louis Bonaparte. The First Consul, who was fondly attached to his wife's two children, had wished to marry Hortense with Duroc, believing that a reciprocal affection subsisted between those two young hearts; but this match, being disapproved by Madame Bonaparte, was not carried into effect. Madame Bonaparte, incessantly tormented by the dread of a divorce, ever since she had lost all hope of having more children, was for marrying her own daughter to one of her husband's brothers,

flattering herself that the offspring of that union, bound by two different ties to the new chief of France, might serve him for heirs. Joseph Bonaparte was married; Lucien led a very irregular life, and behaved like an enemy to his sister-in-law; Jerome was expiating some youthful indiscretions on board a ship. Louis was the only one who suited the views of Madame Bonaparte. She selected him. He was prudent, well informed, but morose, and ill matched in disposition with the wife who was destined for him. The First Consul, who was of this opinion, resisted at first, afterwards yielded, and assented to a marriage which was not destined to make either party happy, but which for a time appeared likely to give heirs to the empire of the world.

The nuptial benediction was given by cardinal Caprara, and in a private house, as was then the practice with all the ceremonies of religion, when priests who had not taken the oath officiated. On the same occasion, that benediction was given to Murat and his wife Caroline, who had not yet received it, like many other husbands and wives of that time, whose marriage had been contracted before the civil magistrate only. General Bonaparte and Josephine were in the same predicament. The latter earnestly intreated her husband to add the religious bond to the civil bond, which already united them; but, whether from foresight, or from fear of avowing to the public the incomplete contract which bound him to Madame Bonaparte, he would not comply.

Such was then the consular family, afterwards the imperial family. These personages, all remarkable on different accounts, happy in the glory and the prosperity of the head who constituted their greatness, controlled by him, and not yet spoiled by fortune, presented an interesting sight, which did not pain the eye like that directorial court, the honours of which were done for several years by Barras, the director. If certain envious or disdainful Frenchmen, who were frequently under obligations to it, did, nevertheless, persecute it with their sarcasms, foreigners, more just, paid it a tribute of curiosity and commendation.

Once every decade, as we have elsewhere said, the First Consul received the ambassadors and the foreigners who were presented to him by the ministers of their nation. He went through the ranks of the assembly, which was always numerous, followed by his aides-de-camp. Madame Bonaparte came after him, accompanied by the ladies of the palace. It was the same ceremonial that was observed in other courts, with a smaller train of aides-de-camp and ladies of honour, but with the incomparable lustre which surrounded general Bonaparte. Twice in each decade, he invited to dinner the eminent personages of France and Europe, and once a month he gave in the gallery of Diana an entertainment, at which a hundred guests were sometimes assembled. On those days, he held a drawing-room at the Tuileries in the evening, and admitted to

his presence the high functionaries, the ambassadors, and those persons of high French society, who were friendly towards the government. Always carrying calculation into the minutest things, he enjoined his family to wear certain dresses, with a view to render the use of them general by imitation. He ordered silk to be worn, for the purpose of encouraging as much as possible the manufactures of Lyons. He recommended to his wife the stuff called *linon* (lawn), in order to favour those of St. Quentin.* As for himself, simple among all, he wore a plain dress of chasseur of the consular guard. He had obliged his colleagues to put on the embroidered dress of consul, and to hold a drawing-room in their apartments, for the purpose of repeating there, though with less splendour, what was done at the Tuileries.

This winter, of 1801 and 1802 (year X.), was extremely brilliant, from the satisfaction prevailing among all classes, some happy to return to France, others to enjoy at last entire security, others to catch in the maritime peace a glimpse of unbounded prospects of commercial prosperity. The great resort of foreigners contributed to the splendour of the winter festivities. Among the persons who appeared in Paris this season, there were two who attracted general attention: one was an illustrious Englishman; the other an emigrant, whose name had formerly been very notorious.

The illustrious Englishman was Mr. Fox, the most eloquent orator in England; the famous emigrant was M. de Calonne, formerly minister of the finances, who, with a mind ready and fertile in expedients, contrived to hide for a few moments from the eyes of the court of Versailles the abyss towards which it was hurrying. Mr. Fox felt a real impatience to see the man towards whom, notwithstanding his British patriotism, he was irresistibly attracted. He came to Paris immediately after the signature of the preliminaries of peace, and was presented to the the First Consul by the English minister. He came not only to see France and its chief, but also to make researches into our diplomatic archives, for the great Whig orator was then employing his leisure in writing the history of the last two Stuarts. The First Consul ordered all the archives to be opened to Mr. Fox, and gave him such a welcome as would have sufficed to con-

* Here is a letter written at St. Quentin to Cambacérès:—

"Saint-Quentin, 21st Pluviôse, year IX. (February 10th, 1801.)

"The interesting manufactures of St. Quentin and environs, which employed 70,000 hands, and brought into France more than 15,000,000 in cash, have decreased five-sixths. It were to be wished that our ladies would bring lawn into fashion, without giving such an absolute preference to muslins. The idea of reviving one of the most interesting manufactures, and which we possess exclusively, and of giving bread to such a great number of French families, is well calculated. In fact, to bring lawns into fashion: besides, have not lawns been long enough in disgrace?"

ciliate an enemy, but which charmed a friend whom he had won by his glory alone. The First Consul threw aside all etiquette with this generous foreigner; he had long and frequent conversations with him, and seemed desirous to make, in his person, a conquest of the English nation itself. Mr. Fox was endowed with that warm imagination which makes fascinating orators, but his understanding was neither positive nor practical. He was full of those noble illusions, which the First Consul, though he had as much imagination as depth of understanding, had never indulged, or at least had ceased to indulge. The young general Bonaparte was disenchanted, as one is after a revolution commenced in the name of humanity, and wrecked in blood. He had shaken off all the first enchantments of the Revolution excepting one—that of greatness, and this he carried to excess. He was not liberal enough to please the leader of the Whigs, and too ambitious to please an Englishman. Each, therefore, galled the other sometimes by contrary opinions. Mr. Fox made the First Consul smile by a simplicity, by an inexperience, which were singular in a man who was nearly sixty years old. The First Consul at times alarmed the British patriotism of Mr. Fox by the vastness of his designs, which he took too little care to dissemble. They harmonized, nevertheless, in understanding and in heart, and were enchanted with each other. The First Consul took infinite pains to make Mr. Fox thoroughly acquainted with Paris, and sometimes he was pleased to accompany him himself to the public establishments. There was just then an exhibition of the productions of French industry, which was the second since the Revolution. Every body was astonished at the progress of our manufactures, which, amidst the general commotion, participating nevertheless in the impulse given to the public mind, had invented a great number of improvements and new processes. Foreigners appeared powerfully struck, particularly the English, who are good judges of such matters. The First Consul took Mr. Fox to the halls fitted up for this exhibition in the court of the Louvre, and sometimes enjoyed the surprise of his illustrious guest. Mr. Fox, amidst the attentions which were paid him, gave vent to a sally, which does honour to the feelings and the mind of that noble statesman, and which proves that in him justice towards France was combined with the warmest patriotism. In one of the halls of the Louvre, there was a very large and very handsome terrestrial globe, destined for the First Consul, and very ingeniously constructed. One of the personages who accompanied the First Consul, turning this globe, and putting his hand upon England, made the unlucky remark, that England occupied a very small place in a map of the world. "Yes," exclaimed Mr. Fox, warmly; "yes, it is in that little island that the English are born, and it is in that island that they all wish to die; but,"

added he, extending his arms around the two oceans and the two Indies, "but, while they live, they fill the entire globe, and embrace it with their power." The First Consul applauded this proud and well-timed reply.

The personage who, next to Mr. Fox, attracted the greatest share of public attention, was M. de Calonne. It was the prince of Wales who had solicited and obtained permission for him to appear again in Paris. M. de Calonne held, ever since his arrival, a language wholly unexpected, and which created a sensation among the royalists. He had no intention, he said, to serve the new government. He could not do it, attached as he had been to the house of Bourbon; but it was his duty to tell the truth to his friends. No man in Europe was capable of making head against the First Consul: generals, ministers, kings, were his inferiors and his dependents. The English, instead of hating, were now full of enthusiasm for him. This feeling was shared by all classes of the British population, and it was carried to an extreme, as all sentiments are by the English. They must, therefore, not reckon upon Europe for overthrowing general Bonaparte. Neither ought they to dishonour the royalist cause by odious plots, which filled all honest men throughout the whole world with horror. They must submit, hope every thing from time and from the double difficulty of governing France without royalty, and of founding a royalty without the family of Bourbon. The infinite vicissitudes of revolutions could alone bring about chances which did not now exist in favour of the exiled princes. But, happen what would, they must expect every thing from France alone, from enlightened France, from France animated by better sentiments, but nothing from foreigners or from conspiracies—this language, singular on account of its wisdom, especially in the mouth of M. de Calonne, caused real astonishment, and induced a belief that M. de Calonne would not be long before he connected himself with the consular government. He had seen the consul Lebrun, who received the royalists with the consent of the First Consul, and had conversed with him on the affairs of France. It was even asserted that he was about to become for the finances what M. de Talleyrand was for diplomacy, the reclaimed noble, lending his experience and the influence of his name to the First Consul. The surmise was unfounded. The First Consul had less need of brilliant understanding than of application, which M. de Calonne had never shown, and he had found all that he wanted in M. Gaudin, who had introduced perfect order into our finances. Nevertheless, on this mere rumour, a crowd of applicants, who had recently returned to France, and were desirous of bettering their fortunes by taking office, had beset M. de Calonne, thinking that they could not choose a fitter person to introduce them to the new government, or one who

would better justify by his example their adhesion to the First Consul.*

Who would believe that, notwithstanding so much good, either already done, or on the point of being done, an opposition, and a warm one too, could be raised? An opposition, and one

* There were, in Paris, agents of the exiled princes, some of whom were men of talent, and very well informed into the bargain. These agents made almost daily reports, to which I have already adverted. I subjoin an extract from one of these reports relative to M. de Calonne.

"M. de Calonne returned to Paris about a month ago. Before he left England, he had a conference with the ministers, and was cordially received by them. He was asked if, in returning to France, it was not his intention also to enter into the administration? He replied that his principles, his conduct during the Revolution, and his attachment to the royal family, absolutely forbade him to accept any place at the hands of the new government; but that, attached to France by taste and by instinct, he should not refuse to give his advice, if it were asked, and if he believed that it would be advantageous to his country.

"His arrival in Paris has produced a great sensation. He is every day beset by visiters, and surrounded by creatures, as at the most brilliant period of his fortune and influence. The notion that he is about to be raised to the ministry brings swarms of applicants to him; and, to escape from them, he is obliged to betake himself to the country. It does not appear, however, that this opinion is well founded; and, if it ever is realized, it will not be at present. All that is known is, that he was to be presented a few days since to Bonaparte, and to have a private conference with him.

"He sees all his old friends, and expresses his sentiments to them with entire freedom. Having witnessed the weakness and the nullity of foreign powers, he does not think that there is to be found in them the slightest guarantee against revolutionary invasion, and, still less, any efficient protection for the cause of the king. He repeats what we have long known, that the men who govern in Europe are men without means and without character, who are unacquainted with the time in which they live, who can neither judge of the present nor foresee the future, and who are alike destitute of the courage which incites to undertake, and of the firmness which enables to persevere. He considers them all as delivered up to Bonaparte, trembling before him, and ready humbly to execute all his commands. In consequence, he is persuaded that it is in France only that there is any possibility of labouring for the restoration of the monarchy; not by putting one's self forward, and by fomenting stupid and ridiculous plots, more calculated to dishonour one's cause, than to pave the way to its real success; but by striving, without [illegible] and without show, to re-establish public opinion, to destroy prejudice, to diminish fears, to unite all the servants of the king, and to keep them in readiness to profit in his favour by all the events which the natural course of things must bring about.

"M. de Calonne asserts, that in England the enthusiasm for Bonaparte is not only general, but carried to an excess, of which it is difficult to form an idea. The court and the city, the capital and the country, all classes of the citizens, from the minister to the artisan, are eager to proclaim his praises, and vie with each other in chanting his victories and the splendour of his power. Besides, this enthusiasm is not peculiar to England; all Europe is, as it were, infected with it. From all parts people are hastening to Paris to see the great man at least once in their lives; and the police has been obliged to threaten to apprehend some Danes, who had publicly bent the knee before him whenever they saw him.

"This is one of the principal causes of his strength and of his immense power. How could the French dare to oppose him, so long as they see the European powers prostrate at his feet!"

of the most vehement, was, nevertheless, preparing against the best measures of the First Consul. It was not in the violent parties radically opposed to the government of the First Consul, royalist or revolutionary, that this opposition was preparing, but in the same party which had desired and seconded the overthrow of the Directory as insufficient, and called for a new government that should be at once able and firm. The subaltern revolutionists, men of commotion and of blood, were repressed, submissive, or transported, and were daily sinking deeper and deeper into their obscurity, never more to emerge from it. The villains of royalism had need to take breath since the infernal machine, and kept quiet. Besides, part of those who infested the high roads had been put to death. The royalists of high quality, while holding impertinent language in the saloons of Paris, nevertheless began already to show the disposition which led them subsequently to act, the men the part of chamberlains, the women that of ladies of honour, in the palace of the Tuileries, which the Bourbons no longer inhabited.

But the moderate revolutionary party, called to compose the new government, was divided, as it is almost always the case with every victorious party which sets about founding a government, and disagrees about the manner of constituting it. From the very first days of the Consulate, this party, which had concurred, in various ways, in the 18th Brumaire, had appeared divided between two contrary tendencies; the one, consisting in making the Revolution terminate in a democratic and moderate republic, such as Washington had recently established in America; the other, in making it end in a monarchy, resembling, more or less, the English monarchy, and, if need were, the old French monarchy, without its former prejudices, without the feudal system, but retaining its grandeur. The consular government had entered its third year, and, as usual, these two tendencies kept gaining strength by the very contradiction. Some, again, became almost violent revolutionists, on seeing how things were proceeding, on seeing the authority of the First Consul increasing, monarchical ideas spreading, a court forming at the Tuileries, the Catholic worship restored, or on the point of being restored, and the emigrants returning in shoals. The others became almost the royalists of former times, so eager were they to re-act and to refound a monarchy, so strongly were they disposed to put up with even an enlightened despotism, as the total result of the Revolution. As to enlightened despotism, that which was arising in France at this moment had so much genius, insured such a sweet repose, that the seduction was great. Meanwhile, the contradiction was carried to such a length on both sides, that a crisis might soon be expected to ensue.

The Tribunate, agitated during the preceding sessions, at one

time on account of the laws relative to finances, at another on account of the special tribunals, was much more so this year, at the aspect of all that was passing, and at the sight of this government proceeding so rapidly towards its goal. The Concordat excited particular indignation, as the most counter-revolutionary act that could be imagined. The Civil Code was not, according to this assembly, sufficiently conformable with equality. Those treaties of peace themselves, which comprehended the greatness of France, displeased it in their wording, as we shall see presently.

M. Sieyès, while striving to prevent all agitation by means of his constitutional precautions, had not, as we have seen, prevented any, for constitutions do not create human passions, neither can they destroy them; they are only the stage upon which the passions come forward. In placing all the seriousness, all the activity, of affairs in the Council of State; the noise, declamation, empty animadversion in the Tribunate; in confining the latter to pleading for or against the acts of the government, before a Legislative Body, confined to answering yes or no; in placing above an idle Senate, which, at long intervals, elected the men charged to perform those two almost useless parts in the two legislative assemblies; in choosing the *personnel* of the government in the same spirit; in placing the men fit for business in the Council of State, the men fit for speech-making, inclined to clamour, in the Tribunate, the obscure superannuated in the Legislative Body, the superannuated of a higher order in the Senate—M. Sieyès had scarcely prevented the passions of the time from breaking forth; he had even added, it must be confessed, a certain jealousy of these bodies one towards another. The Tribunate was sensible of the declamatory vanity of its part; the Legislative Body was sensible of the ridiculousness of its silence, and contained, moreover, many priests who had quitted orders, organized by the abbé Grégoire into a silent but annoying opposition. The Senate itself, which M. Sieyès had designed to mould into a wealthy and quiet old man, was not so quiet as he had expected. That body was somewhat tired of its idle dignity, for the senators were debarred from public functions, and their electoral power, so rarely exercised, was far from filling up their time. All of them were jealous of the Council of State, which shared with the First Consul the glory of the great things that were daily accomplished. Thus this body, which M. Sieyès had designed to lull into a sort of aristocratic stupor, after the example of Venice and Genoa, still tossed, like one who has some remains of fever, and might be checked, controlled by a master, but not composed into a tranquil sleep, as its maker had hoped.

And, strange to tell, M. Sieyès, the inventor of all these constitutional arrangements, by virtue of which there reigned so much activity on the one hand, so little on the other, M. Sieyès

came to weary himself with his own inaction. Moderate, and even monarchical in his opinions, he ought to have approved the acts of the First Consul; but causes, some of them inevitable, others accidental, began to embroil them. That great speculative genius, limited to seeing every thing, and doing nothing, could not but feel jealous of that active and mighty genius, which was daily acquiring the mastery of France and of the world. In the magnificent works of general Bonaparte, M. Sieyès already perceived the germ of his future faults; and, if he did not yet say so aloud, he sometimes indicated it by his silence, or by a phrase in language profound as his thoughts. It is possible that, if attentions had been at all times paid to him, they might have soothed and attached him to the First Consul; but the latter had rather too early considered himself quit with M. Sieyès by the gift of the estate of Crosne; and, besides, absorbed by his immense labours, he had too much neglected the superior man, who had so nobly ceded to him the first place on the 18th Brumaire. M. Sieyès, indolent, jealous, piqued, had faults to find, even in the immensity of the present good, and showed himself a morose and cold censurer. The First Consul was not sufficiently master of his temper to leave all the wrong to his adversaries. He talked cavalierly of the metaphysics of M. Sieyès, of his impotent ambition, and made a thousand remarks on that subject, which were immediately repeated and aggravated by malevolent persons. M. Sieyès had at his side some friends, such as M. de Tracy, a man of superior mind, but not religious, an original philosopher in a school that had but little originality, and a very respectable character; M. Garat, a specious philosopher, more pretending than profound; M. Cabanis, devoted to the study of the material man, and seeing nothing beyond the limits of matter; M. Lanjuinais, a sincerely pious, honest, vehement man, who had nobly defended the Girondins, and who now warmed at the idea of resisting the new Cæsar. They surrounded M. Sieyès, and already formed a perceptible opposition in the Senate. The Concordat appeared to them, as to many others, the most striking proof of a speedy counter-revolution.

The First Consul, seeing France and Europe enchanted with his proceedings, could not comprehend how it was that the only declaimers against those proceedings should be found precisely around him. Piqued at this opposition, he called the members of the Senate from whom it proceeded *ideologues*, led on by a pouter, who regretted the exercise of the supreme power, of which he was incapable; he called the members of the Tribunate busy-bodies, with whom he should know how to break a lance, and to prove that he was not to be frightened with noise; he called the more or less numerous malecontents of the Legislative Body unfrocked priests, Jansenists, whom the abbé Grégoire, in concert with the abbé Sieyès, was striving to organize into an

opposition against the government; but he declared that he would break all those resistances, and that they should not easily stop him and prevent the good which he purposed to accomplish. Never having lived in the assemblies, he was ignorant of that art of coaxing men, which Cæsar himself, powerful as he was, did not neglect, and which he had learned in the Senate of Rome. The First Consul expressed his displeasure publicly, boldly, with the feeling of his strength and of his glory, and scarcely listened to the wise Cambacérès, who, possessing great experience in the management of the assemblies, exhorted him to no purpose to use moderation and soothing. "You must prove to those people," replied the First Consul, "that you are not afraid of them; and they will be frightened, on condition that you are not frightened yourself." Here were already, as we see, the manners, the ideas, of pure royalty, in proportion as the moment approached when monarchy would become inevitable.

It was not only in the bodies of the State that opposition manifested itself, but also in the army. The mass of the army, like the mass of the nation, sensible of the important results obtained during the last two years, was entirely devoted to the First Consul. Still, among the chiefs there were malecontents, some of them sincere, others merely jealous. The sincere malecontents were the stanch Revolutionists, who beheld with chagrin the return of the emigrants and the speedy obligation to go and exhibit their uniforms in the churches. The malecontents from jealousy were those who saw with mortification an equal, who, having first surpassed them in glory, was now on the point of becoming their master. The former belonged mostly to the army of Italy, which had always been downright revolutionary; the latter to the army of the Rhine, calm, moderate, but rather envious.

The chiefs of the army of Italy, in general devoted to the First Consul, but ardent in their sentiments, disliked both priests and emigrants, complained that they were to be made churchmen of, and said all this in the original and not most decent language of soldiers. Augereau, Lannes, bad politicians, but heroic warriors, especially the second, who was an accomplished captain, used the most extraordinary expressions. Lannes, having become commander-in-chief of the consular guard, administered its chest with a prodigality known to the First Consul and authorized by him. A mansion was furnished in a sumptuous style for the accommodation of the staff of that guard. Lannes there kept open table for all his comrades, and there, at their soldierly banquets, he launched forth invectives against the proceedings of the government. The First Consul had no reason to fear that the attachment of these unoccupied soldiers to himself was diminished. At the first signal, he was sure to find them all about him, and Lannes above all the rest.

Still, it was dangerous to allow those heads and tongues to go any further, and he sent for Lannes. The latter, accustomed to great familiarity with his general-in-chief, gave way to some outbursts of passion, which were soon repressed by the calm superiority of the First Consul. He retired, grieved at his fault, and grieved at the displeasure which he had incurred. From a feeling of honourable susceptibility, he determined to pay the sums drawn from the chest of the guard with the consent of the First Consul. But this general, after all his campaigns in Italy, possessed scarcely any property. Augereau, just as inconsiderate as himself, but who had an excellent heart, lent him a sum, being all that he had, saying, "Here, take this money; go to that ungrateful fellow for whom we have spilt our blood; give him back what is due to the chest, and let neither of us be any longer under obligations to him." The First Consul would not suffer his old companions in arms, at once heroes and boys, to throw off their affection for him. He dispersed them. Lannes was destined for a profitable embassy, that of Portugal. It was Cambacérès, the consul, who was charged with this arrangement. Augereau had orders to be more circumspect for the future, and to return to his army.

These scenes, however, greatly exaggerated by malevolence, which distorted while propagating them, produced a mischievous effect on public opinion, especially in the provinces. Not a single voice, indeed, was raised against the First Consul, whom people were disposed to think in the right against all opposition, but they excited uneasiness and apprehension of serious difficulties for the supreme authority, the re-establishment of which was earnestly desired.*

These scenes with the officers of the army of Italy were scenes between friends, falling out one day and embracing on the next. They were rather more serious with the generals of

* Here is a passage from a letter of M. de Talleyrand's, who had gone some time afterwards to Lyons for the organization of the Italian Consulta:—

"Lyons, 7th Nivôse, year X. (December 28th, 1801.)

"General,—I have the honour to inform you of my arrival at Lyons, at half-past one o'clock, this morning. The road through Burgundy, with the exception of six or eight leagues, is not very bad, and the prefects on that line of communication have taken advantage of the movement of enthusiasm produced by the hope of your passage, to cause the repair of the roads to be prosecuted with activity. Wherever I came to communes, to habitations, I heard cries of '*Vive Bonaparte!*' For the last ten leagues, which I travelled in the middle of the night, every one came as I passed, with light in hand, to repeat those words. It is an expression which you are destined to hear continually!

"The story about general Lannes has spread, and appeared to excite great attention: the sub-prefect of Autun and a citizen of Avallon talked to me about it, but mentioned various circumstances which letters from Paris had reported to them as anecdotes. I have again had occasion to remark to what a degree every thing that relates to your person engages the public attention, and is instantly talked of throughout France."

the Rhine, who were colder and more malicious. Unfortunately, a fatal division began to manifest itself between the general-in-chief of the army of Italy and the general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine—between general Bonaparte and general Moreau.

Moreau, ever since the campaign against Austria, the success of which he owed, at least in part, to the First Consul, who had given him the command of the finest army of France, Moreau was reputed the second general of the Republic. In reality, nobody was mistaken in regard to his value; he was well known to possess a mind of moderate powers, incapable of great combinations, and totally destitute of political genius. But people laid stress on his real qualities of a prudent, discreet, and vigorous general, to make of him a superior commander, capable of coping with the conqueror of Italy and Egypt. Parties have a wonderful instinct for discovering the weaknesses of eminent men. They flatter or abuse them by turns, till they have found an avenue by which they can penetrate to their hearts, and infuse their poisons into them. They had very soon discovered the weak side of Moreau; this was vanity. While flattering him, they had inspired him with a fatal jealousy against the First Consul, which was destined before long to prove his ruin. The females of the two families of Bonaparte and Moreau had quarrelled, about some of those trifles for which women do quarrel with one another. The members of Moreau's family strove to persuade him that he ought to be the first and not the second; that general Bonaparte was ill-disposed towards him; that he sought to depreciate him, and to make him play a secondary part. Moreau, who was destitute of character, had listened but too willingly to these dangerous suggestions. The First Consul, on his part, had never wronged him in any way whatever; on the contrary, he had loaded him with distinctions; he had affected to speak of him more highly than he thought, especially in reference to the battle of Hohenlinden, which he proclaimed in public a master-piece of military art, whereas in private he considered it rather as a piece of good luck than as a scientific and deliberate combination. But, when Moreau had once taken it into his head that he was wronged, he would not be left far behind, and, with the usual promptness of his character, he soon began to resent those wrongs. One day he invited Moreau to accompany him to a review; Moreau drily refused, that he might not be lost amidst the staff of the First Consul, and alleged as an excuse that he had no saddle-horse. The First Consul, nettled at this refusal, soon returned it in kind. On one of the great festive occasions which were frequently occurring, all the high functionaries were invited to dine at the Tuileries. Moreau was in the country, but, returning the day before on some business or other, he called upon Cambacérès, to speak to him on the subject. The consul, who made it his incessant business to conciliate, received Moreau with the utmost cordiality. Surprised to see him

in Paris, he hastened to the First Consul, and warmly urged him to invite the commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine to the grand dinner that was to take place on the following day. "He has given me one public refusal," replied the First Consul, "I will not run the risk of receiving a second from him." Nothing could change his determination, and, on the morrow, while all the generals and the high functionaries of the Republic were seated in the Tuileries, at the table of the First Consul, Moreau revenged himself for having been neglected by going publicly, and in plain clothes, to dine at one of the most frequented restaurants of the capital, with a party of discontented officers. This circumstance was much noticed, and produced a most mischievous effect.

From that day, that is to say from the autumn of 1801, generals Bonaparte and Moreau manifested extreme coldness towards each other. The public was soon aware of it, and the hostile parties hastened to avail themselves of this disposition. They began to extol Moreau at the expense of general Bonaparte, and strove to fill the hearts of both with the poison of hatred. These details will perhaps appear far beneath the dignity of history; but whatever serves to make known the characters of men, and the deplorable littlenesses even of the greatest, is worthy of history; for every thing that is capable of instructing belongs to it. One cannot too strongly warn high personages against the frivolousness of the motives which frequently embroil them, especially when their divisions become those of the country.

The opening of the session of the year X. took place on the 1st Frimaire (November 22nd, 1801), agreeably to the injunction of the Constitution itself, which fixed that day for the purpose. Assuredly, if ever man had a right to feel proud in presenting himself before a legislative assembly, it was with that which the consular government then brought along with it. Peace concluded with Russia, England, the German and Italian powers, Portugal, the Porte, and concluded with all those powers on glorious conditions; a plan of conciliation with the Church, which put an end to the religious troubles, and which, while reforming the French Church upon the principles of the Revolution, nevertheless obtained the adhesion of the orthodox to the consequences of that revolution; a Civil Code, a monument since admired by the whole world; laws of high utility respecting public instruction, the Legion of Honour, and an infinity of other important matters; financial measures, which placed the expenditure and the revenues of the State in perfect equilibrium—what more complete, more extraordinary, than such a mass of results to submit to a nation! Nevertheless, all these things were, as we shall presently see, very unfavourably received.

The session of the Legislative Body was this time opened with a certain solemnity. The minister of the interior was commissioned to preside on this occasion. Set speeches were made on

either side, and there seemed to be an intention to imitate the forms customary in England, when Parliament is opened by commission. This new ceremonial, borrowed from a constitutional monarchy, drew forth malicious remarks from the opposition. The Tribunate and the Legislative Body constituted themselves, and proceeded to that kind of manifestations by which assemblies take pleasure in revealing their secret sentiments—the election of persons. The Legislative Body chose for its president M. Dupuis, author of the celebrated work, *Sur l'Origine de tous les Cultes.* M. Dupuis was not so strong an oppositionist as might be supposed from his book; for he had acknowledged to the First Consul, in conversation with him, that the reconciliation with Rome was necessary; but his name carried great weight at a moment when the Concordat was one of the principal grievances alleged against the consular policy. The intention was easy to be inferred, and it was comprehended by the public, especially by the First Consul, who even exaggerated the importance of it to himself.

The two assemblies exercising the legislative power, that is to say, the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, being constituted, three councillors of State presented the exposition of the situation of the Republic. This exposition, dictated by the First Consul, was simple and noble in regard to language, magnificent in regard to subject. It made a deep impression upon the public mind. On the following day, a numerous train of councillors of State brought such a series of bills (*projets de lois*) as a government rarely has occasion to present to assembled chambers. They were the bills destined to convert into laws the treaties with Russia, Bavaria, Naples, Portugal, America, and the Ottoman Porte.

The treaty with England, previously concluded in London, under the form of preliminaries of peace, was on the point of receiving, at this moment, in the congress of Amiens, the form of a definitive treaty, and could not yet be submitted to the deliberations of the Legislative Body. As for the Concordat, it was thought right not to expose it immediately to the ill-will of the opposition. Portalis, the councillor of State, next read an address, which has ever since enjoyed a just celebrity, on the subject of the Civil Code. The first three heads of that code were brought up at the same time by three councillors of State: the first related to *the publication of the laws;* the second to *the enjoyment and the privation of civil rights;* the third to *the acts of the civil state.*

One would think that such a prospectus of legislative labours ought to have silenced all opposition: it did no such thing. When, according to custom, those bills (*projets*) were communicated to the Tribunate, the communication of the treaty with Russia produced a most violent scene. The third article of that treaty contained an important stipulation, that the two govern-

ments had agreed upon, in order to secure themselves against the underhand dealings, in which one of them might have engaged against the other, in case they had been inimically disposed. They had promised, said that Article III., "not to suffer any of their *subjects* to maintain any correspondence whatever, either direct or indirect, with the internal enemies of the present government of the two States; to propagate there principles contrary to their respective constitutions; or, to foment disturbances." The French government had had in view the emigrants; the Russian government had had in view the Poles. Nothing was more natural than such a precaution, especially for the French government, which had the Bourbons to fear and to watch. But, in adverting to the persons who might attempt to disturb the mutual repose of the two countries, the negotiators had employed the word which naturally occurred, as the one most frequently employed in diplomatic language, namely, the word *subjects*. It had been employed without any intention, because it was the word usually employed in all treaties; because it was common to say the *subjects* of a republic, as well as the *subjects* of a monarchy. No sooner was the reading of the treaty finished than Thibaut, the tribune, one of the members of the opposition, demanded leave to speak. "Into the text of this treaty," said he, "there has crept an expression inadmissible in our language, and which is not to be endured. I mean, the word *subjects*, applied to the citizens of one of the two States. A republic has no subjects, but citizens. It is no doubt an error of the writer, but it ought to be rectified." These words produced a vehement agitation, as is sure to be the case in an assembly previously excited, which expects an event, and which is thrilled by every circumstance, however slight, if connected with the subjects that preoccupy the minds of the members. The president cut short the explanation that was about to be entered upon, by remarking that the deliberation was not then opened; and that these observations ought to be reserved for the day when, upon the report of a commission, the treaty presented would be submitted for discussion. This appeal to the regulations prevented the tumult from breaking out at the moment, and a commission was immediately appointed.

This manifestation increased the ferment prevailing in the great bodies of the State, and irritated the First Consul still more. The manifestations by means of the election of new members continued. There were several places to fill in the Senate. One was vacant by the death of the senator Cræsous; two others were to be filled in virtue of the Constitution. That Constitution, as the reader will recollect, had at first supplied only sixty out of the eighty senators, who were to compose the total number of the Senate. To reach that number, two were to be appointed every year for ten years. At this moment, then, there were three places to be given away, including that

which had become vacant by the death of Crassous. According to the Constitution, the First Consul, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate, were each to present a candidate, and the Senate then chose from among the candidates presented.

The ballots for this purpose commenced both in the Legislative Body and in the Tribunate. In the Tribunate, the opposition supported M. Daunou, who had publicly fallen out with the First Consul, on occasion of the special tribunals, so warmly discussed during the last session. From that time, he would not attend the meetings of the Tribunate, saying that he would have nothing to do with any legislative proceedings *while the tyranny lasted*. He had actually kept his word, and not shown himself afterwards. The opposition members had, therefore, selected M. Daunou as the candidate most disagreeable to the First Consul. The decided partisans of the government in the same body proposed one of the authors of the Civil Code, M. Bigot de Préameneu. Neither of these was elected. The majority of votes was given to a candidate of no importance, the tribune Desmeuniers, a moderate man, and who, through his friends, was not a stranger to the First Consul. But the Legislative Body spoke out more decidedly, and chose the abbé Grégoire for its candidate to the Senate. This choice, after the gift of the presidency to M. Dupuis, was a double manifestation against the Concordat. In that body, M. Bigot de Préameneu had had a certain number of votes, nearly two-fifths.

The First Consul resolved to make, on his part, a significant proposal. He might have waited till the two bodies, authorised to present candidates concurrently with the executive power, had chosen those candidates for the two places which remained to be filled. It was probable that the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, unwilling to break definitively with so popular a government as that of the First Consul, subject, moreover, to that oscillating movement of assemblies, which, when they have advanced too far one day, always fall back on the next, would make less obnoxious selections, and even fill up the two remaining vacancies with persons acceptable to the government. Thus, M. Desmeuniers, for instance, was a person whom the First Consul could perfectly approve; for he had promised to reward his services by a senator's place. It was probable that the name of M. Bigot de Préameneu would turn up from one of the ballots either of the Legislative Body or of the Tribunate. The First Consul would then have it in his power to present, on his own account, such of the candidates adopted by those assemblies as should suit him best, and, in this case, a name presented by two authorities out of three was almost certain to be favoured by the majority of the Senate. Cambacérès recommended this course; but it was a kind of compromise, frequently resorted to in a representative government, but to which the First Consul had a supreme aversion. The

general-magistrate, a stranger to that form of government, would not place himself in this manner behind the Legislative Body or the Tribunate, and await their preferences before he manifested his own. In consequence, he immediately presented not one candidate, but three at once; and he chose three generals. Notwithstanding the hopes previously given to M. Desmeuniers, the First Consul, displeased with him because he had not spoken out with sufficient energy in the discussions which had already taken place on the Civil Code, set him aside, and presented generals Jourdan, Lamartillière, and Berruyer. It is true, that these selections were perfectly suited to the occasion. General Jourdan had appeared hostile to the 18th Brumaire, but he enjoyed universal respect; he conducted himself prudently, and had since been invested with the government of Piedmont. In presenting him to the Senate, the First Consul gave a proof of that genuine impartiality which befits the head of a government. As for general Lamartillière, he was the oldest officer of the artillery, and had served in all the campaigns of the Revolution. General Berruyer was a very aged officer of infantry, who, after participating in the Seven Years' War, had been wounded in the armies of the Republic. These, then, were not creatures of his own, whom general Bonaparte purposed to reward, but old servants of France under all the governments. This bold and decisive conduct once adopted, it was impossible to make a more worthy selection. A circumstance still more singular is, that it was justified in a preamble. The spirit of this preamble was as follows: "You are at peace," said the government to the Senate; "you are indebted for it to the blood which your generals have shed in a hundred battles. Prove to them, by calling them into your bosom, that the country is not ungrateful to them."

The Senate assembled, and was agitated by many intrigues. M. Sieyès, who resided habitually in the country, left it on this occasion, and came to join in these intrigues. Many well-disposed persons, such as old Kellermann, for example, were led away by being told that the Legislative Body, in case its candidate, that is to say, the abbé Grégoire, were preferred, would repay that preference by proposing for the second vacant place general Lamartillière, one of the three candidates of the First Consul, and that then, by choosing that general a little afterwards, it would satisfy two authorities at once, the Legislative Body and the government. These manœuvres succeeded, and the abbé Grégoire was elected senator by a great majority.

While these elections were agitating people's minds and giving great joy to the oppositionists, the discussions in the Legislative Body and the Tribunate were assuming a most mischievous character. The treaty with Russia had become, on account of the word *subjects*, the occasion of the most violent discussions in the commission of the Tribunate. M. Costaz, the

reporter of that commission, who was not of the opposition party, had applied to the government for some explanations. The First Consul had received him, and explained to him the meaning of the article so vehemently attacked, and the motive of its insertion in the treaty; and, as for the word *subjects*, he proved to him, by referring to the Dictionary of the Academy, that this word, used diplomatically, applied to the citizens of a republic as well as to those of a monarchy. In order to his entire edification, he had even entered into various details concerning the relations of France with Russia touching emigrants. M. Costaz, convinced by the evidence of these explanations, made his report in a spirit favourable to the article in question; but, intimidated by the violence of the Tribunate, he found fault with the use of the word *subjects*, and related things in a very awkward manner, which was liable to give Russia the appearance of a weak government, delivering up the emigrants to the First Consul, and to the First Consul the appearance of a persecuting government, pursuing the emigrants even into their most distant asylum. M. Costaz, as it frequently happens to circumspect men, who wish to conciliate all parties, equally displeased the opposition and the First Consul, whom he compromised with Russia.

The day for the discussion having arrived—it was the 7th of December, 1801 (16th Frimaire)—the tribune Jard-Panvilliers moved, that the debate should take place in secret committee. This very wise proposal was adopted. No sooner were the tribunes relieved from the presence of the public, which, by the by, was far from favourable to them, than they gave way to the most inconceivable transports of passion. They declared their determination to reject the treaty, and to propose its rejection to the Legislative Body. If ever there was culpable folly, it was this; for, on account of a word, correct, moreover, and perfectly innocent, to reject such a treaty, so long and so difficult to conclude, and which procured peace with the first power of the Continent, was to act like idiots, like lunatics. Messrs Chénier and Benjamin Constant launched out into the most violent declamations. M. Chénier went so far as to pretend that he had important things to say upon this question, but that he should not say them till the sitting was public, for he wished all France to hear them. He was told that it would be better to begin by communicating them to his own colleagues. He drew back, however; and an unknown tribune, a simple and sensible man, restored the minds of his colleagues to reason by a short speech. "I know nothing of diplomacy," said he; "I am a stranger both to the art and to its language. But I see in the proposed treaty a treaty of peace. A treaty of peace is a precious thing, which must be adopted entire, with all the words that it contains. Depend upon it that France will not forgive you for its rejection, and that the responsibility which would

rest upon you would be terrible. I move, therefore, that an end be put to the discussion, that the sitting be rendered public, and that the treaty be immediately put to the vote." After this short address, delivered with calmness and simplicity, the assembly was about to vote, when the opposition members moved an adjournment till the next day, on account of the lateness of the hour. The adjournment was carried. On the following day, the tumult was quite as great as it had been the day before. M. Benjamin Constant delivered a written speech, very perspicuous and very subtle. M. Chénier declaimed anew with vehemence, saying that five million Frenchmen had died that they might cease to be *subjects*, and that this word ought to remain buried among the ruins of the Bastile. The majority, weary of all this violence, was about to put an end to it, when a letter from Fleurieu, councillor of State, addressed to Costaz, the reporter, arrived. M. Costaz had treated as official the explanations which he had presented in his report, and had given the assembly to understand that they came from the First Consul. Furnish positive proof of that, was the answer made to him. He had then provoked a declaration from M. Fleurieu, who was the councillor of State appointed to support the bill (*projet*). The latter, after taking the orders of the First Consul, sent the desired declaration, accompanied by numerous corrections, which the report of M. Costaz rendered indispensable, and which revived the debate. M. Ginguené put an end to it by an epigrammatic and not very becoming motion. Acknowledging that it was difficult to reject a treaty of peace, on account of one displeasing word, he proposed the passing of a vote couched in these terms, "For the love of peace, the Tribunate adopts the treaty concluded with the court of Russia."

M. de Girardin, who was one of the most reasonable and intelligent members of the Tribunate, induced the assembly to reject all these propositions, and to pass immediately to the vote. After all, the majority of the Tribunate meant, by its choice of persons, to give the First Consul signs of dissatisfaction; it had no wish to enter upon a struggle, especially on account of a treaty, the rejection of which would have drawn upon it the public animadversion. It was adopted by seventy-seven votes against fourteen. The adoption in the Legislative Body took place without tumult, thanks to the form of the institution.

This scene produced a painful effect in Paris. People did not consider the First Consul as a minister liable to lose the majority, and no fears were entertained for his political existence. He was considered as a hundred times more necessary than a king appeared to be in a well-established monarchy. But they beheld with grief the slightest appearance of fresh troubles; and the friends of a wise liberty asked themselves how, with such a character as that of general Bonaparte, how,

with a constitution, into which the framer had neglected to admit the power of dissolution, such a contest would terminate if it were prolonged?

In fact, if a dissolution had been possible, the difficulty would soon have been solved, for France, when convoked, would not have re-elected one of the adversaries of the government. But, obliged to live together till renewal by one-fifth, the powers were liable, as under the Directory, to some violence the one from the other; and, if such a thing occurred, it was evidently neither the Tribunate nor the Legislative Body that could triumph. It needed but an arbitrary act of the First Consul's to reduce to nothing both the Constitution and those who made such a use of it. All wise men, therefore, trembled on seeing this state of things.

The discussion of the Civil Code served only to strengthen these apprehensions. Now that time has obtained universal esteem for that Code, one would scarcely conceive all the objections urged against it at that period. The opposition at first expressed great astonishment on finding that Code so simple, and that it had so little novelty. What, said they, is that all?—in that bill (*projet*) there is no new conception, no great legislative creation which is peculiar to French society, which can stamp it with a particular and durable character; it is but a translation of the Roman or common law. Its authors have taken Domats, Pothier, the Institutes of Justinian, they have digested into French all that they contain; they have divided this into articles, and connected these articles by numbers rather than by a logical deduction; and then they present this compilation to France, as a monument which has a claim to its admiration and its respect! Messrs. Benjamin Constant, Chénier, Ginguenú, Andrieux, all of them men who might have employed their understandings to better purpose, jeered the councillors of State, saying, that it was lawyers under the guidance of a soldier who had made this paltry compilation, pompously called the Civil Code of France.

M. Portalis, and the men of sense who were his fellow-labourers, replied that, on the subject of legislation, the point was not to be original, but clear, just, and judicious; that they had not a new society to constitute, like Lycurgus or Moses, but an old society to reform in some points, and to restore in many others; that the French law had subsisted for ten centuries; that it was the produce at once of Roman science, of feudalism, of monarchy, and of the modern spirit, acting together for a long period of time on French manners; that the Civil Law of France, resulting from these different causes, had now to be adapted to a society which had ceased to be aristocratic and become democratic; that it was necessary, for example, to revise the laws relative to marriage, to the paternal authority, to successions, to divest them of every thing that was repugnant

to the spirit of the present time; that it was necessary to purge the laws relative to property of all feudal servitude; to draw up this mass of prescriptions in clear, precise language, which should afford no occasion for ambiguities, for endless disputes; and to put the whole into excellent order; that this was the only monument to be erected; and that if, contrary to the intention of its authors, it should happen to surprise by its structure, if it should please a few scholars by new and original views, instead of obtaining the cold and silent esteem of lawyers, it would miss its real aim, though it were to please certain minds, more eccentric than judicious.

All this was perfectly reasonable and true. In this respect, the Code was a masterpiece of legislation. Grave lawyers, full of learning and experience, thoroughly acquainted with the language of the law, under the guidance of a chief—a soldier, it is true, but of a superior mind, capable of deciding their doubts and keeping them to work—had composed this beautiful digest of French Law, completely purified from feudal law. It was impossible to do otherwise or to do better.

It is true that, in this vast Code, one might here and there substitute one word to another word, transpose an article from one place to another place; one might do it without much danger, but likewise without much utility; and that is precisely what even well-intentioned assemblies are fond of doing, solely that they may have some hand in the work which is submitted to them. Sometimes, in fact, after the presentation of an important bill (*projet de loi*), we see men of subordinate and ignorant minds lay hold of a legislative work, the fruit of profound experience and long labour, alter this and that, make out of a perfectly connected whole a shapeless incoherent mass, without relation to the existing laws and to real facts. Frequently they act thus, not out of a spirit of opposition, but merely from a fondness for retouching the work of another. Only figure to yourself vehement tribunes, men of little information, exercising themselves in this manner on a code of some thousand articles! it was enough to make its authors throw up the work in disgust.

The preliminary portion had to sustain the first attack of the critics of the Tribunate. It had been referred to a commission, of which Andrieux was the reporter. This part contained, with the exception of a few unimportant differences in the wording, the same dispositions as were definitively adopted, and which now form the preface, as it were, to that admirable monument of legislation. The first article related to the promulgation of the laws. The ancient system, by virtue of which the law could not be enforced, till the parliaments and the tribunals had assented to its registration, was abandoned. That system had formerly produced the struggle between the parliaments and royalty, a struggle which, in its time, had been a useful correc-

tive of absolute monarchy, but which would have been an egregious blunder, at a period when there existed representative assemblies charged to grant or to refuse taxes. To this system had been substituted the very simple idea of causing the law to be promulgated by the executive power, to render it executable at the seat of the government twenty-four hours after its promulgation, and in the departments after a delay proportioned to the distances. The second article forbade any retro-active effect to the laws. Some great errors of the Convention on this point, rendered that article useful and even necessary. It was requisite to lay it down as a principle, that the law could never disturb the past, and regulate only the future. After limiting the action of the laws as to time, it was necessary to limit their action as to places; to declare what laws should follow Frenchmen out of the territories of France, and be obligatory on them in all places, as those, for instance, which regulated marriages and successions; and what laws should be obligatory on them in the territory of France only, but which within that territory should be obligatory on foreigners as well as on natives of France. The laws relative to the police and to property were to come under this latter head; it was the subject of Article III. The fourth article obliged the judge to try, even when the law appeared to him insufficient. This case had occurred more than once in the transition from one legislation to another. Frequently, in fact, the tribunals had been, for want of laws, really embarrassed to pronounce sentence; frequently, too, they had fraudfully withdrawn themselves from the obligation to render justice. The Court of Cassation and the Legislative Body were beset with addresses for interpretations of laws. It was requisite to prevent this abuse, by obliging the judge to give a decision in all cases; but it was requisite, at the same time, to prevent him from constituting himself legislator. This was the object of Article V., which forbade tribunals to decide any thing but the special case which was submitted to them, and to pronounce by way of general disposition. Lastly, the sixth article limited the natural faculty which all the citizens have to renounce the benefit of certain laws by particular agreements. It rendered the laws relative to public order, to the constitution of families, to good manners, absolute and impossible to be evaded. It decided that no person could withdraw himself from them by any particular agreement.

These preliminary dispositions were indispensable, for it was necessary to declare, somewhere in our legislation, how the laws were to be promulgated, at what moment they became executable, how far their effects extended in regard to time and in regard to place. It was necessary to prescribe to the judges the general mode of the application of the laws, to oblige them to try, but to forbid them to constitute themselves legislators; lastly, it was necessary to render immutable the laws which

constitute social order and morality, and to withdraw them from the variations of particular agreements. If it was indispensable that these things should be written, where was it more proper to be done than at the head of the Civil Code, the first, the most general, the most important of all Codes? Would they have been better placed, for example, at the head of a commercial Code, or a Code of civil proceedings? These general maxims were evidently necessary, well written, and well placed.

It would be difficult to form an idea, at the present day, of the animadversions directed by M. Andrieux against the preliminary part of the Civil Code, in the name of the commission of the Tribunate. In the first place, these dispositions, according to him, might be put anywhere; they belonged no more to the Civil Code than to any other. They might, for instance, be placed at the head of the Constitution, as well as at the head of the Civil Code. That was true; but, since the framer of the Constitution had omitted to place them at the head of it, which was natural, for they had no political character, where could they be better placed than in that Code which might be called the Social Code?

Secondly, the order of these six articles was arbitrary, according to M. Andrieux. The first might be put last, and the last first. This was not quite correct, for, on close examination, it was easy to discover a real logical deduction in the manner in which they were arranged. But, at any rate, what signified the order of these articles, if one was as good as the other? Was not that the best order which eminent lawyers, after the most conscientious labour, had preferred? Were there not natural difficulties enough in this great work, without adding to them puerile difficulties?

Lastly, according to M. Andrieux, it contained general, theoretical maxims, belonging rather to jurisprudence than to the positive law, which disposes and commands. This was false; for the form of the promulgation of the laws, the limit given to their effects, the obligation imposed upon the judges to give judgment and not make regulations, the prohibition of certain particular agreements, contrary to the laws—all this was imperative.

These animadversions, then, were as frivolous as they were ridiculous. They, nevertheless, made an impression on the Tribunate, which deemed them worthy of the greatest attention. Thiessé, the tribune, considered the disposition which denied all retro-active effect to the laws as extremely dangerous and counter-revolutionary. It was annulling, he said, to a certain point, the consequences of the night of the 4th of August; for persons born under the system of the law of primogeniture and of substitutions might allege that the new law relative to the equal division of property was retro-active, in regard to them, and, consequently null, as far as they were concerned.

Such absurdities were supported, and this preliminary part was rejected by sixty-three votes against fifteen. The opposition, delighted with this commencement, resolved to follow up this first success. Agreeably to the Constitution, the Tribunate nominated three orators, to undertake, against three councillors of State, the discussion of the laws before the Legislative Body. Messrs. Thiessé, Andrieux, and Favard were directed to demand the rejection of this preliminary portion. They obtained it by 142 votes against 139.

This result, together with the different votes at the elections, and with the scene occasioned by the word *subjects*, was serious. It was rumoured that the two other parts already presented, *on the enjoyment of civil rights*, and *on the form of the acts of the civil state*, were nearly certain to be rejected also. The report of M. Siméon, on *the enjoyment and privation of civil rights*, was, in fact, in favour of rejection. M. Siméon, so discreet in general, had, among other animadversions, alleged that the proposed law neglected to say that the children born of French parents, in the French colonies, were French by right. We cite this singular objection, because it excited in the First Consul an astonishment mingled with anger. He summoned the Council of State, to consult what was to be done on this occasion. Was the government to persist in the course adopted, or not? Ought the mode of presentation to the Legislative Body to be changed? or would it be better to defer this great work, so impatiently expected, and to put it off till another time? The First Consul was exasperated. "What would you do," he exclaimed, "with people who, before the discussion, said that the councillors of State and the consuls *were downright asses*, and that their work ought to be flung at their heads? What will you do when such a man as Siméon alleges a law to be incomplete, because it does not declare the children of French parents, born in the colonies, to be French? Indeed, one is astounded at such strange aberrations. Even with all the sincerity brought to this discussion in the bosom of the Council of State, we have had the greatest difficulty to agree; how, then, is it possible to succeed in an assembly five or six times as numerous, and which discusses without sincerity? How is an entire code to be drawn up on such conditions? I have read the speech of Portalis to the Legislative Body, in reply to the orators of the Tribunate; he has left them nothing to say; *he has drawn their teeth*. But, let a man be ever so eloquent; let him speak twenty-four hours successively, he will make no impression on a prejudiced assembly, which is determined not to listen to him."

After these complaints, expressed in warm and bitter language, the First Consul asked the opinion of the Council of State as to the best course to be pursued to insure the adoption of the Civil Code by the Tribunate and the Legislative Body.

The subject was not new in the Council of State. The difficulty had been there foreseen, and various means proposed for getting over it. Some proposed the presentation of general principles only, on which the Legislative Body should vote, with the understanding that the developments should afterwards be given, by way of regulations. This was scarcely admissible, for it is difficult to comprehend the general principles of laws, if the developments are drawn up separately. Others proposed a more simple plan—to present the entire Code at once. "You would have no more trouble," said they, "about the three books of the Code than you have about one. The tribunes would fall foul of the first heads; they would then tire, and let the rest pass. The discussion would thus be abridged by its very immensity." This course was the most plausible, and the wisest. Unfortunately, several conditions were wanting, in order to its success. The assemblies had not then the faculty of amending the propositions of the government, that permits those little sacrifices, by means of which the vanity of some is gratified and the scruples of others are disarmed, in ameliorating the laws. The opposition members, too, were deficient in that sincerity without which all grave discussion is impossible; and, lastly, the First Consul was deficient in that constitutional patience which the habit of contradiction imparts to men accustomed to representative government. He did not admit that good, sincerely intended and laboriously prepared, ought to be delayed or spoiled, to please what he called babblers.

Some resolute spirits went so far as to propose to present the Civil Code as the treaties were presented, with a law of acceptance beside it, and thus get it voted in the lump by yes or no. This method of proceeding was too dictatorial, and it was not seriously contemplated.

On the recommendation of the most enlightened members, particularly Tronchet, it was resolved to await the fate of the two other heads presented to the Tribunate—"Yes," said the First Consul, "we can risk two more battles. If we gain them, we shall continue the march that is begun. If we lose them, we must go into winter-quarters, and consider what course to pursue."

This plan of proceeding was adopted, and the issue of the two discussions was awaited. The public opinion began to be strongly expressed against the Tribunate. The leaders, therefore, bethought them of an expedient to temper the effect of their successive rejections, and that was to intermingle them with an adoption. The head relative to the keeping of *the acts of the civil state* pleased them much in itself, because it sanctioned still more strictly the principles of the Revolution in regard to the clergy, by absolutely forbidding them the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, and attributing it exclusively to the municipal officers. This head, presented by Thibaudeau,

councillor of State, was excellent, but that would not have saved it, if it had not contained dispositions against the clergy. It was, therefore, agreed to adopt it. But, in the order of presentation it should have come third. It was introduced second, and voted without difficulty, to make the more sure of the rejection of the head relative to the *enjoyment and the privation of civil rights*. The latter, brought under discussion in its turn, was rejected in the Tribunate by an immense majority. Its rejection by the Legislative Body was not doubtful. Thus the whole series of difficulties which had been foreseen started forth at once. Those difficulties could not fail to be aggravated, when the laws on marriage, on divorce, and on the paternal authority, should be under Consideration. As for the Concordat and the bill (*projet*) relative to public instruction, there was evidently no chance of succeeding in obtaining their adoption.

But what served to push matters to extremity was a new ballot for members, which assumed the character of direct hostility against the First Consul. The election of the abbé Grégoire as senator had already been carried, in opposition to the wishes of the government, and to give a sign of disapprobation of its religious policy. There were, as we have just seen, two places to fill, and not only were the assemblies desirous to fill them in a manner contrary to the already known intentions of the First Consul in favour of three generals, but they were bent on making such a choice as would be most disagreeable to him. This choice was, therefore, that of M. Daunou. Pains were therefore taken to obtain the presentation of M. Daunou by the two legislative authorities at once, that is to say by the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, which would render his nomination by the Senate almost inevitable.

The most active steps were taken, and votes were solicited, with a boldness which justly excited astonishment, in opposition to so formidable an authority as that of the First Consul.

M. Daunou was balloted for in the Legislative Body against general Lamartillière, the government candidate. Repeated ballots took place. At last, M. Daunou obtained 135 votes, and general Lamartillière 122. He was declared the candidate of the Legislative Body for one of the vacant places in the Senate. In the Tribunate, also, M. Daunou had general Lamartillière for a competitor. He obtained forty-eight votes, general Lamartillière thirty-nine: he was declared candidate. He had, therefore, two presentations for one. This ballot took place on the 1st of January, 1802 (11th Nivôse), the very day on which the head of the Civil Code relative to *the enjoyment and privation of civil rights* was rejected.

According to the ordinary rules of the representative system, one would have been obliged to say, that the majority was lost. But, in this case, the person who must have retired was the First Consul, since he was the grand object of the admiration of France

as well as of the hatred of his enemies. No one, however, set up any pretension to exclude him, because no one possessed the means to do so. It was, therefore, a mere shuffling trick, unworthy of serious men. It was spite the most puerile and, at the same time, the most dangerous; for they were pushing to extremity a violent character, full of the feeling of its strength, and capable of any thing. Cambacérès himself, usually so moderate, regarding the proceedings as absolutely disorderly, said that hostilities so direct could not be suffered, and that, for his part, he could not answer for it that it would be possible to appease the First Consul. The indignation of the latter was, indeed, extreme, and he loudly declared his resolution to rid himself of the obstacles which persons were striving to throw in the way of all the good that he purposed to do.

The following day, the 2nd of January (12th Nivôse), was the day of the decade on which he gave audience to the senators. A great number, even of those who had acted against him, attended. They came, some from curiosity, others from weakness, and to disavow by their presence their participation in what was passing. M. Sieyès was one of the visiters. The First Consul was, as usual, in uniform; his countenance appeared animated, and some violent scene was expected. A circle was formed around him. "You are determined, then, to nominate no more generals," said he; "yet to them you are indebted for peace; this would be the right time for showing your gratitude to them." After these few words, the senators, Kellermann, François de Neufchâteau, and others, were roughly taken to task. They made a very lame defence. The conversation then became general again, and the First Consul, casting his eyes towards M. Sieyès, thus resumed: "There are people," said he, in a very loud voice, "who want to give us a Grand Elector, and who are thinking of a prince of the house of Orleans. This system has its partisans, I know, even in the Senate." These words alluded to a scheme, truly or falsely attributed to M. Sieyès, and reported by his enemies to the First Consul. M. Sieyès, on hearing these offensive words, withdrew blushing. The First Consul, then addressing the assembled senators, added: "I declare to you that, if you nominate M. Daunou senator, I will take it as a personal affront, and you know that I have never yet put up with one."

This scene frightened the mass of the senators present, and grieved the most discreet. These saw with pain, a man so great, so necessary, but so little master of himself when he was offended, urged into such irritation. The malevolent went away, crying that never had members of the bodies of the State been treated in a manner more indecent and more insupportable. Fear had penetrated into those rancorous but timid minds; and that noisy opposition was destined soon to humble itself before the man whom it had attempted to brave.

The consuls discussed among themselves the course to be

pursued. General Bonaparte was bent upon some signal act of violence. If he had possessed legal authority to dissolve the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, the solution would have been easy by regular means, and it would have produced, by a general election, a majority entirely favourable to the views of the First Consul. It is true that a general election would have excluded *en masse* the men of the Revolution, and brought forward totally new men, animated, more or less, by royalist sentiments, like those against whom it had been necessary to act on the 18th Fructidor, which would have been a misfortune of another kind. So true it is that, on the morrow of a sanguinary revolution, which had deeply exasperated minds against one another, the free action of constitutional institutions was impossible. To get out of the hands of hot-headed revolutionists, one would have fallen into the hands of evil-disposed royalists. But, at any rate, the law was silent on the subject of dissolution; it was, therefore, requisite to devise some other expedient.

The First Consul proposed to withdraw the Civil Code, to let the Legislative Body and the Tribunate keep holiday, to submit nothing to them but the laws of finance; and then, when he should have made all France thoroughly sensible that these bodies were the sole cause of the interruption given to the beneficent operations of the government, to seize an occasion for breaking the inconvenient instruments which the Constitution imposed upon him. But Cambacérès, a man skilful in expedients, found gentler means, the legality of which was defensible enough, and which, moreover, were alone practicable at the moment. He dissuaded his colleague, the general, from any illegal and violent measure. "You can do any thing," said he; "people would put up with it from you. They even permitted the Directory to do what it pleased—the Directory, which had not the advantage either of your glory, or of your moral ascendency, or of your immense military and political successes. But the arbitrary proceeding of the 18th Fructidor, necessary as it was, ruined the Directory. It rendered the directorial Constitution so despicable, that nobody could afterwards take it in earnest. Ours is much better. With skill to use it, one may do good with it. Let us not then consign it to the public contempt by violating it, on account of the first obstacle that we meet with." Cambacérès admitted that it would be necessary to withdraw the Civil Code, to break off the session, to give a vacation to the deliberative bodies, and to throw upon them, as a subject of serious reproach, the compulsory inaction to which the government would be reduced. But this inaction would be a blind alley, which they must get out of. M. Cambacérès found the means of doing so in Article XXXVIII. of the Constitution, which runs thus: "The first renewal of the

Legislative Body and the Tribunate shall not take place before the year X."

It was then the year X. (1801—1802.) Government had a right to choose any period of the year that it pleased for effecting this renewal. It might, for example, proceed to it in the course of the winter, in Pluviôse or Ventôse: then dismiss one-fifth of the Tribunate and of the Legislative Body, which would be twenty members for the Tribunate, sixty for the Legislative Body; remove in this manner the most hostile, fill their places with discreet, peaceable men, and open an extraordinary session in spring, to obtain the adoption of the laws which were now stopped in their passage by the malevolence of the opposition. This method was evidently the best. By excluding twenty members of the Tribunate and sixty of the Legislative Body, the government would remove those restless men who swayed the inert mass, and intimidate such as might be again tempted to resist. But, if it wished to succeed, it must first gain the concurrence of the Senate in two things; firstly, an interpretation of Article XXXVIII., in accordance with the proposed plan; secondly, the exclusion of the opposition members, and the nomination of men devoted to the government to fill their places. M. Cambacérès, thoroughly acquainted with that body, knowing that the mass was timid, and the opposition far from courageous, answered for it that the Senate, when it saw how far it was likely to be hurried beyond the bounds of prudence and reason, would readily comply with all the wishes of the government. Article XXXVIII., the interpretation of which now became an important point, did not specify the mode to be employed for the designation of the fifth that was to go out. In the silence of that article, the Senate, charged to choose, might, if it pleased, prefer the ballot to the lot. Against such an interpretation it might be urged that the constant practice, when an assembly is to be partially renewed, is to have recourse to the lot, in order to designate the portion which is to be first excluded. To this it might be answered that recourse is had to the lot when one cannot do otherwise. One cannot, in fact, apply to several hundred electoral colleges to designate the fifth that is to go out, for to address any part of them is to designate that fifth one's self; to address all is to have recourse to a general election, and, in a general election, one cannot fix beforehand the number of the excluded, for that again would be to designate one's self the fifth to be removed. The lot is, therefore, the only resource, in the ordinary system of elections by electoral colleges. But, having here the Senate, charged to elect, and which could easily be induced to designate by ballot the fifth to be excluded; it was more natural to have recourse to the clear-sighted authority of its votes, than to the blind authority of the lot. The Senate, it is true, was thus made the arbiter

of the question; but this was acting in conformity with the real spirit of the Constitution; for, in conferring on the Senate all the prerogatives of the electoral body, it had been made judge of the conflicts which might arise between the legislative majorities and the government. In short, the faculty of dissolution, indispensable in every regular government, was re-established by a subterfuge.

The most important reason was, that the government extricated itself from embarrassment, without ostensibly violating the Constitution. The First Consul declared that he would admit this plan or any other, provided that he were rid of the men who prevented him from pursuing measures conducive to the welfare of France. M. Cambacérès took upon himself the task of preparing a memorial on the subject. A message, was also prepared, to announce to the Legislative Body that the Civil Code was withdrawn. General Bonaparte undertook to draw it up himself in a noble and austere style.

The explosion of his anger began already to be dreaded; it was said that a manifestation of it would speedily be exhibited. On the day after the scene with the senators, the 3rd of January (13th Nivôse), a message was sent to the president of the Legislative Body. It was read amidst profound silence, which expressed a sort of terror. The message was as follows:

"Legislators—The government has resolved to withdraw the bills (*projets de loi*) of the Civil Code.

"It is with pain that it finds itself obliged to defer till a future period the laws so anxiously awaited by the nation; but it is convinced that the time is not yet come, when these important discussions can be carried on with the calmness and unity of purpose which they require."

This deserved severity produced the strongest effect. All governments cannot and ought not to use such language; they must, however, be permitted to do so when they are in the right, and when they have conferred on a country immense glory and immense benefits, repaid by an inconsiderate opposition.

The Legislative Body, intimidated by this blow, fell at the feet of the government in not the most honourable manner. A motion was made that, before it broke up, the assembly should ballot for the presentation of a candidate for the third and last vacant place in the Senate. The same men—will it be believed?—who had so spitefully persisted in presenting Messrs. Grégoire and Daunou, instantly voted for general Lamartillière. He obtained 233 out of 252 votes. It was impossible to comply more promptly with the wishes of the First Consul. In consequence, general Lamartillière was declared the candidate of the Legislative Body.

This presentation furnished the Senate with an expedient for satisfying the First Consul, without humbling itself too deeply.

After the threat held out to the senators at the audience on the 2nd of January, all idea of taking M. Daunou was relinquished. M. Daunou had, nevertheless, been presented by two bodies at once, the Legislative Body and the Tribunate. To prefer the government candidate to one who had in his favour the double presentation of the two legislative assemblies, would be throwing themselves too openly at the knees of the First Consul. A paltry subterfuge was therefore devised, but it did not save the dignity of the Senate, and served only to exhibit its embarrassment in a clearer light. It met on the following day, the 4th of January (14th Nivôse). The presentation of M. Daunou by the Legislative Body had been determined on the 30th of December, that of general Lamartillière on the 3rd of January. The Senate pretended that the resolution of the 30th of December was not communicated, while that of the 3rd of January only had been, and that general Lamartillière was consequently the only known candidate of the Legislative Body. To this subterfuge it added another trick still more paltry. It filled up the second of the three vacant places. Now general Lamartillière was the first, general Jourdan the second, on the list of the First Consul. It affected, therefore, to consider general Jourdan as the government candidate for the place still vacant. The Senate then drew up its decision in these terms:

"Considering the message of the First Consul of the 25th Frimaire, by which he presents general Jourdan; considering the message of the Tribunate of the 11th Nivôse, by which it presents citizen Daunou; considering, lastly, the message of the Legislative Body of the 13th Nivôse, by which it presents general Lamartillière, the Senate adopts general Lamartillière, and declares him a member of the Conservative Senate."

By this device the Senate feigned that it had adopted, not the candidate of the First Consul, but the candidate of the Legislative Body. This was adding to the shame of submission the disgrace of a lie which deceived nobody. Assuredly, it was acting judiciously to give way to an indispensable man, without whom France would have been plunged into chaos, without whom not one of the opposition members would have been sure of keeping his head on his shoulders; but people should have taken care not to affront him, when they knew that they were unable to carry through the affront.

The opposition members in the Tribunate loudly inveighed against the weakness of the Senate, a weakness which they were themselves destined soon to imitate, and even to surpass.

The plan adopted by the government was immediately put into execution. The legislative labours were suspended, and it was publicly announced that the First Consul was about to quit Paris for Lyons, and that he would be absent nearly a month.

The object of this journey had the accustomed greatness of the acts of general Bonaparte. It was undertaken for the purpose of constituting the Cisalpine Republic; and 500 deputies, of all ages, and of all conditions, were at this moment crossing the Alps, in a severe winter, to form at Lyons a great diet, by the name of *Consulta*, and to receive, from the hand of general Bonaparte, laws, magistrates, an entire government. It had been agreed that they should meet him half way; and Lyons had been considered, next to Paris, as the most suitable point for such a meeting. Prodigious preparations had been made in that city for this imposing political spectacle. He was also to be surrounded by a great military display; for the 22,000 men left of the army of Egypt, having been landed by the English fleet at Marseilles and Toulon, were on march for Lyons, to be reviewed by their former general.

Nobody bestowed further thought either on the Legislative Body or on the Tribunate. They were left in total inactivity, without any sort of explanation of the plans which the government might have conceived. The Constitution no more conferred the faculty of prorogation than that of dissolution. The two assemblies, therefore, were not dismissed, but they were not furnished with any employment. The government had withdrawn not only the laws of the Civil Code, but also a law relative to the re-establishment of branding for the crime of forgery. This crime, owing to the circumstances of the Revolution, had increased in a frightful manner. So many papers required by the new regulations for the accountable officers of government; so many certificates of civism, formerly indispensable for every one who would not be considered as suspected; so many certificates of presence required of returned emigrants to clear themselves of the offence of emigration; so many verifications of all kinds, demanded and furnished in writing, had given rise to a detestable class of criminals—that of forgers. They infested the sphere of business, as robbers had formerly infested the high roads. The First Consul designed to have a special punishment for them, as he had wished to have a special jurisdiction for the banditti of the highways, and he had proposed branding. "The crime of forgery enriched," he said; "a forger, who has undergone his punishment, returns into society, and his wealth causes his crime to be forgotten. There ought to be an indelible mark set upon him by the hand of the executioner, which would forbid those complaisant persons, whom opulence always draws around it, to sit at table with the enriched forger." This proposal had to encounter the same difficulties as the Civil Code. It was withdrawn, and nothing whatever was left under deliberation; for the laws relative to public instruction and to the re-establishment of religious worship had not even been presented. As to the laws of finance, they were reserved to

furnish a pretext for an extraordinary session in the spring. This species of parliament was thus left, not dissolved, not prorogued, idle, useless, weary of its inaction, and bearing, in the eyes of France, the responsibility of the complete interruption of all the excellent and useful operations of the government.

It was agreed that, during the absence of the First Consul, M. Cambacérès, who had peculiar skill in managing the Senate, should take care to get such an interpretation as was desired put upon Article XXXVIII. of the Constitution, and that he should superintend himself the exclusion of the twenty and of the sixty members, whom it was intended to remove from the Tribunate and the Legislative Body.

Before he set out, the First Consul had to attend to two important subjects; the expedition of St. Domingo, and the Congress of Amiens. The second detained him beyond the term fixed for his departure.

The desire to possess distant possessions was an old deep-seated feeling of ambition, which the reign of Louis XVI., the palmy days of our navy, had roused, and which subsequent maritime reverses had not yet completely extinguished. The possession of colonies was, at that time, eagerly coveted by all commercial nations. The expedition of Egypt, which had been undertaken with a view of disputing the dominion of the East Indies with the English, was the natural consequence of this universally prevailing inclination, and its unfortunate issue had excited a very earnest desire to compensate for this loss in some other way. The First Consul proposed to indemnify us in two modes, by Louisiana and St. Domingo. He had granted Tuscany, that fertile and valuable portion of Italy, to the court of Spain, in order to obtain Louisiana in exchange: and at this moment he was pressing for the due performance of the engagement entered into by that cabinet. He was determined, at the same time, to repossess himself of the island of St. Domingo.[1] This island, previously to the Revolution, was the first and most important of the West India islands, and the most coveted amongst all the colonies which produced sugar and coffee. It furnished materials to our ports and our navy for the most extensive trade. The imprudent policy of the Constituent Assembly had caused an insurrection of the slaves, and had led to those ever-to-be-lamented horrors, by which the liberty of the blacks was first proclaimed to the world. A negro, endowed with true genius, Toussaint l'Ouverture, had achieved at St. Domingo an humble imitation of that which the First Consul had accomplished in France. He had subdued and established a government over this revolted people, and had succeeded in restoring some degree of order. Thanks to him, the negroes no longer slaughtered each other in St. Domingo, but were beginning to work. He had drawn up a constitution,

which he had submitted to the First Consul for his approbation, and exhibited a sort of national attachment for the mother country. This negro had a profound aversion for British connexion; he only required to be free, but still to continue French. The First Consul had at first acquiesced in this state of things; but, shortly afterwards, conceiving doubts of Toussaint l'Ouverture's fidelity, and, without wishing to bring back the negroes to a state of slavery, he meditated taking advantage of the maritime armistice which succeeded the preliminaries of peace in London, to despatch an expedition to St. Domingo, consisting of a squadron and an army. With regard to the blacks, the First Consul contemplated the continuance of that condition which events had brought about. He intended, in all the colonies which the spirit of revolt had not pervaded, still to uphold slavery, relaxing, however, its rigour; but in St. Domingo to tolerate freedom, which had now become impossible of restraint. But he meant fully to establish the authority of the parent country in this latter island, and, for that purpose, to keep an army stationed there. In the event of the blacks, after their emancipation, becoming disloyal subjects, or of the English renewing the war, his intention was, without interfering with the freedom of the blacks, to reinstate the proprietors in the possession of their colonial estates, as they filled all Paris with their complaints of their lamentable poverty, and with their imprecations against Toussaint l'Ouverture's government. A considerable portion of the French nobility, already deprived of their property in France by the Revolution, were also proprietors of estates in St. Domingo, and had been plundered of the rich possessions which they had formerly held in that island. They were refused the restoration of their estates in France, as they had become national domains; but it was in our power to restore to them their sugar and coffee plantations in St. Domingo, and this compensation seemed in some measure to satisfy them. These were the various motives which influenced the proceedings of the First Consul. To recover the greater part of our colonies, to hold it, not by the tenure of the doubtful fidelity of a black raised to dictatorial power, but by force of arms; to keep firm possession of it against the blacks and the English; to restore to the old colonists their estates, which were to be cultivated by free labour; finally, to connect this queen of the West Indies with the mouth of the Mississippi by the acquisition of Louisiana—such were the combined objects which the First Consul had in view; a combination of objects certainly much to be regretted, as will soon be seen, but imperatively required, so to speak, by the general opinion prevalent in France at that period.

It was very important to use the utmost expedition, as, although the definitive peace negotiated at this moment at the Congress of Amiens was almost certain, yet it was necessary, at all

events, in case the English should raise new and inadmissible pretensions, to take advantage of the interval during which the seas would be open to despatch the fleet. The First Consul caused an immense armament to be prepared at Flushing, Brest, Nantes, Rochefort, and Cadiz, consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, and twenty frigates, capable of transporting 20,000 men. He appointed admiral Villaret-Joyeuse to the command of the squadron, and general Leclerc, one of the best officers of the army of the Rhine, to the command of the troops; the latter had recently married his sister Pauline. He insisted upon his sister accompanying her husband to St. Domingo. He loved her with tender affection; he, therefore, sent thither one of the objects most dear to him, and he had no intention at the time, as party rancour subsequently ascribed to him, to transport to an unhealthy climate, subject to dangerous fevers, those soldiers and generals of the army of the Rhine who had given him umbrage. Another circumstance fully proves the feeling which actuated him in the selection of the corps sent to St. Domingo. As peace appeared, at that time, likely to become general, military men were under the apprehension that their vocation would cease. Great numbers solicited permission to join the expedition, and this favour was distributed amongst them with a due regard to justice and equality in the various appointments. The brave Richepanse, the hero of the army of Germany, was appointed lieutenant under general Leclerc.

The First Consul applied his accustomed energy to the speedy completion of these preparations, and as much as possible urged the departure of the several naval divisions, distributed in the various ports situated between Holland and the southern extremity of the Peninsula. However, before they set sail, he was under the necessity of coming to an explanation with the English ministry, to whom this vast armament occasioned considerable misgivings. He had some difficulty in satisfying them upon this subject, although, in fact, they were rather desirous that the expedition should proceed. They were not, at that time, so eager for the emancipation of the negroes as the English ministers have since that time appeared to be. The freedom of the blacks of St. Domingo, inspired them with great alarm for their own colonies, and above all for Jamaica. They were anxious, therefore, for the success of our enterprise; but the extent of the means employed disturbed them, and they would have preferred the troops being sent over in transports. We succeeded, however, in inducing them to listen to reason; and they reluctantly acquiesced in allowing this immense armament to put to sea, at the same time despatching a squadron to watch its movements. They even promised to place all the provisions and ammunition which the resources of Jamaica could command at the disposal of the French army, subject, of course, to payment for whatever might be supplied. The chief

naval division, equipped at Brest, set sail on the 14th of December. The others followed shortly afterwards. By the end of December, the whole expedition had put to sea, and would consequently reach St. Domingo, whatever might be the final result of the negotiations of Amiens.

These negotiations, conducted by lord Cornwallis and Joseph Bonaparte, proceeded slowly, without, however, giving apprehension of a rupture. The first cause of delay had arisen from the actual composition of the Congress, which was to embrace not only the French and English plenipotentiaries, but also the Dutch and Spanish plenipotentiaries; as, after the preliminaries, peace was to be concluded between the two great belligerent nations and all their allies. Spain, which, from a state of close amity, had gone almost to the other extreme of hostility, thwarted the views of the First Consul by not sending her plenipotentiaries to the Congress. As, in point of fact, she knew that peace was inevitable, and that she should only appear in the protocol for the purpose of surrendering Trinidad, she did not hurry herself in sending her negotiator to the meeting. The English, on their part, were anxious to have a Spanish ambassador at the Congress of Amiens, in order to obtain a formal cession of the island of Trinidad. They even intimated that they would not enter into negotiation if the Spanish ambassador were not present. The First Consul was under the necessity of assuming a tone with the court of Spain, which should rouse her from her apathy, and he ordered general St. Cyr, who had been appointed ambassador in the room of Lucien, to lay before the king and queen the extravagant conduct of the prince of the Peace, and to declare to them that, if such a course of conduct were persevered in, it would end in some thunder-clap.*

* The following important letter will enable us to form a correct opinion of the relations between France and Spain at this juncture:—

"To citizen Saint Cyr, ambassador at Madrid.

"10th Frimaire, year X., 1st of December, 1801.

"The conduct of the cabinet of Madrid becomes a riddle to me. I enjoin you, especially, citizen ambassador, to take every means to open the eyes of this cabinet, to induce it to adopt some consistent and becoming course of proceeding. It has appeared so important to me, that I have thought it my duty to write to you myself on the subject.

"The most intimate union subsisted between France and Spain when his Majesty thought proper to ratify the treaty of Badajoz.

"M. the Prince of the Peace transmitted at that time a note to our ambassador, a copy of which I have ordered to be transmitted to you. This note was couched in such offensive terms as rendered it quite impossible for me to pay any attention to it. A few days afterwards, he forwarded to the French ambassador at Madrid a note, in which he declared that his Catholic Majesty was about to make his peace separately with England. I also order a copy of this letter to be sent to you. I felt at that time what little reliance I could have upon the support of a power, whose minister expressed himself so unbecomingly, and manifested such inconsistency in his conduct. Being fully conscious of the good intentions of the king, I should have made him ac-

The Spanish minister destined to figure so conspicuously at the Congress of Amiens, M. Campo-Arlange, was ill in Italy. Spain at length determined to give orders to M. d'Azara, ambassador at Paris, to repair to the Congress. This difficulty got over with the Spaniards, there was still another to overcome with the Dutch. The Dutch plenipotentiary, M. Schimmelpenninck, would not admit the basis of the preliminaries, that is to say, the cession of Ceylon, before he was aware how Holland would be treated with respect to the restitution of her fleets put into the possession of England; with respect to the indemnities laid claim to on behalf of the dispossessed stadtholder; and finally, with respect to certain questions of limits on the French side. Joseph Bonaparte received orders to notify to M. Schimmelpenninck, that he would only be received at Congress, on the condition of his first admitting the preliminaries of London as the basis of the negotiation. Lord Cornwallis having expressed himself satisfied with this formality, the Congress thus became constituted.

Nevertheless, the English were anxious to introduce Portugal as a party, under the pretence that she was an ally of England. The real secret motive was, to procure the exemption of the court of Lisbon from the payment of the contribution of 20,000,000 frs.

---

quainted directly with the improper conduct of his minister, if the illness of his Majesty had not supervened.

"I have several times intimated to the court of Spain that its refusal to execute the convention of Madrid, that is to say to occupy a fourth part of the Portuguese territories, would lead to the loss of Trinidad; no attention has been paid to these observations.

"In the negotiations which have taken place in London, France has contended for the interests of Spain, just as she would have done for herself; but, as, after all, his Britannic Majesty would not give up Trinidad, I could no longer insist upon it, especially as Spain, in an official note, threatened France with a private negotiation; we could no longer rely upon her assistance in continuing the war.

"The Congress of Amiens has met, and a definitive treaty of peace will be signed; nevertheless, his Catholic Majesty has not yet published the preliminaries, nor intimated in what manner he wishes to treat with England. It, however, becomes very essential to his position among European powers, and to the interests of his crown, that he should make up his mind without delay, without which a definitive peace will be shortly signed without his being a party to it.

"It has been reported to me, that at Madrid they want to retract their bargain respecting the cession of Louisiana; France has never swerved from the strict fulfilment of any treaty made with her, and she will not permit any power to be wanting to her in this respect. The king of Tuscany is seated upon his throne, and in possession of his States, and his Catholic Majesty is too well aware of the faith due to his engagements to refuse any longer to put us in possession of Louisiana.

"I desire you will express to their Majesties my extreme displeasure at the unjust and inconsistent conduct of the prince of the Peace.

"During the last month, this minister has spared neither insulting notes nor hazardous measures; every thing he had in his power to do against France he has done. If this system of conduct be persevered in, tell the Queen, and the prince of the Peace, boldly, that it will end by some unexpected thunder-clap."

which had been imposed upon it by one of the conditions of the treaty of Madrid. The First Consul refused his consent to this, declaring that peace between France and Portugal was already made, and nothing more had to be done. This pretension being set aside, the Congress set to work, and the basis was soon agreed upon.

In order to avoid incalculable difficulties, it was agreed that every demand should be rejected if it did not fall within the scope of the preliminaries. *Nothing more, nothing less than the articles of London,* was the rule thus reciprocally laid down. The English had, in fact, again brought under discussion the subject of the abandonment of the island of Tobago by France. The First Consul, on the part of France, had demanded an extension of territory in the region of Newfoundland, for the improvement of the French fisheries. These several pretensions were mutually rejected, and, to put an end to similar claims, it was agreed not to entertain any subject of further concessions, but what was contained in the preliminary treaty. Otherwise, by reviving the difficulties which had been so happily overcome, peace itself might be placed in jeopardy. This principle being laid down, it only remained to draw up the formal *precis* of the preliminaries stipulated in London.

Two important points remained to be resolved: the payment of the cost of supporting the prisoners, and the administrative government proper to be established in Malta.

The number of French prisoners supported by England far exceeded the number of English prisoners maintained by France, and the English accordingly claimed reimbursement of the difference. France rejoined, that the principle generally admitted was, that each nation should maintain the prisoners which she had made; that, if a different principle were acted upon, France would have to require repayment for the Russian, Bavarian, and other soldiers, in the pay of England, whom she had taken prisoners and supported; that all soldiers paid by England should be included in the number of prisoners whom she was bound to maintain. "Besides," added the French plenipotentiary, "it is purely a question of amount, which can be settled by means of commissioners specially appointed for the liquidation of such claims."

With respect to Malta, the question was of a more serious nature. The English and the French greatly distrusted each other on this subject. They seemed to have a foresight into futurity, each fearing that, at some subsequent period, the island would again fall into the hands of one power or the other. The First Consul, by a singular instinct, proposed utterly to destroy all the military works, to leave only the dismantled city, to establish a great neutral lazaretto, open to all nations, and to convert the Order into an hospitable foundation, wholly divested of any military attributes.

This proposition did not satisfy the English. They alleged that the rock was naturally so strong a defence that, even stripped of the fortifications, raised at successive periods by the knights, it would still remain a formidable place of strength. They urged, also, that the Maltese people would offer great resistance to the destruction of these fine fortresses, and proposed the reconstitution of the Order upon a new and more solid basis. They had no objection to allow the French language still to be used there, stipulating only that a college should be instituted for teaching the English and also the Maltese language; the latter for the advantage of the Maltese people, who should have a share in its management; they were desirous of placing this new settlement under the guarantee of some great power, Russia for example. The English were in hopes that, with the English and Maltese languages spoken by the people, who would be devoted to them, they should still have an influence in the island, which would prevent the French from again obtaining possession of it.

The First Consul insisted upon the destruction of the fortifications, stating that at present it would be very difficult to reconstitute the Order; that already Bavaria had seized upon their property in Germany; that Spain, since the establishment of Russian protection over Malta, meditated the same thing, and to appropriate the lands situated in her territory; that the institution of Protestant knights would be a conclusive reason with her; that the Pope, already very adverse to every thing which was done with regard to the Order, would not, under any consideration, give his assent to these new arrangements, and that France had not the requisite means of affording instruction so as to secure the introduction of the French language, inasmuch as her present laws did not permit, under any modification, the re-establishment of an order of nobility. He was ready, if it were insisted upon, to assent to the re-establishment of Malta upon its ancient basis, with the preservation of the existing fortifications, but without either the French or English languages, and that the island should be placed under the guarantee of the court situated nearest to it, namely, that of Naples. He rejected the guarantee of Russia.

None of the continental arrangements were touched upon. The First Consul had expressly forbidden the French legation to allude to them. Nevertheless, as the king of England took a deep interest in the house of Orange, now deprived of the stadtholdership, the First Consul was willing to take upon himself to procure for it a territorial compensation in Germany, when the great question of the German indemnities should be determined. In return, he demanded the restitution, either in ships or in money, of the Dutch fleet carried off by the English.

In the main, there was nothing in all this absolutely irreconcilable; inasmuch as the question of the prisoners was one

purely of money, which could be arranged by means of a joint commission. The question of Malta was of more difficult solution, as it involved a feeling of mutual distrust. It was important to discover, and it was within the scope of possibility, some specific scheme which should remove the fears of all parties of an eventual contingency which might happen; namely, the sudden occupation of the island by one of the two great maritime nations. As regarded the stadtholder, nothing was more easy, since both parties were agreed upon that subject.

The First Consul was anxious to bring things to a conclusion as soon as possible. He wished to have the treaty ready on his return from Lyons, as he intended to present this state document (which rendered the general peace complete), together with the Concordat, and the laws relating to finance, to the new Legislative Body. He therefore gave orders to his brother Joseph not to make unnecessary difficulties in the adjustment of the remaining details, but to get the treaty signed with as little delay as possible.

The First Consul left Paris on the 8th of January (18th Nivôse), accompanied by his wife and a numerous military escort, to proceed to Lyons. M. de Talleyrand had preceded him, in order to arrange all the business, so that, upon the First Consul's arrival, it would only be necessary to give his sanction, by his presence, to the plans submitted to him. The winter was very severe; nevertheless all the Italian deputies were already assembled, and impatient to see general Bonaparte, the great object of their journey.

The time had now arrived for the regulation of the affairs of Italy, by constituting the Cisalpine Republic a second time. M. de Talleyrand was greatly opposed to this step. This minister dwelt upon the great difficulty of carrying on business in a republic; he cited the examples of the Dutch, Helvetic, Ligurian, Roman, and Parthenopean republics, and pointed out the difficulties, under which they had formerly laboured, or were at present labouring. He said, that there were quite enough of these offsets of the French Republic, that not one more was necessary; and he suggested in lieu either a principality or a monarchy, similar to that of Etruria, which could be conferred upon some prince, a friend and dependent upon France. He would not have objected to grant this State to a prince of the house of Austria, to the grand-duke of Tuscany for instance, who must be indemnified in Germany, if he were not indemnified in Italy. This arrangement, which would have been highly agreeable to Austria, would have strongly influenced her to remain at peace. It would have equally satisfied the German powers, who, by this plan, would have had one co-participator the less to indemnify with the lands of the ecclesiastical princes. Above all, it would have highly pleased the Pope, who cherished the hope that the Legations would be restored to him, when we should be

released from the promises made respecting the Cisalpine. This arrangement, in one word, was in accordance with the general opinions of all Europe; as it extinguished one republic, and left one territory more to be appropriated, and made a corresponding diminution of one State the less under the direct dominion of the French Republic.

Undoubtedly, to render, in any way, the greatness of France less insupportable to the nations of Europe, was a reason of very great weight, as thereby the probability of the longer duration of peace would be considerably increased. Now that France had the Rhine and the Alps for her frontiers; now that she had Switzerland, Holland, Spain, and Italy, under her immediate control; now that she held Piedmont directly, with the general though tacit consent of all the powers; now that she had reached to this height of greatness, the most moderate line of policy was, from this moment, the most rational and prudent. In this view of the case, M. de Talleyrand was certainly in the right. Nevertheless, after all that had been already done, we were compulsorily under the obligation of reconstituting Italy; and, as Austria had been now deprived of it, it was necessary to devise a plan of making the loss irrevocable, which could only be accomplished by constituting it upon a firm and independent footing. By this act, we only endangered a collision with Austria, and one only of the hundred battles since fought, for the purpose of creating French kingdoms throughout the continent, would have sufficed to consolidate for ever in Europe any state of things we might have chosen to establish in Italy.

Upon this plan, we must have renounced the possession of Piedmont, as, if the Italians prefer the French to the Germans, at the bottom they are not attached to either, inasmuch as both are regarded by them as foreigners. This is a natural and legitimate feeling which ought to be respected. The French, by keeping Italy under their protection, without having actual possession of it, would have secured the permanent attachment of the people, and would not have superinduced those sudden revulsions of feeling, which they have so often exhibited, since, bandied between the French and the Germans, they have incessantly changed masters. Under this arrangement, Etruria ought not to have been granted to a Spanish prince. Then, by uniting Lombardy, Piedmont, the duchies of Parma and Modena, Mantua, the Legations, and Tuscany, a magnificent country would have been formed, extending from the Maritime Alps to the Adige, from Switzerland to the Roman State. It would have been easy to detach, either in Tuscany or in Romagna, a portion of territory to indemnify the Pope, whose devotion could not last long, unless, sooner or later, we administered to his poverty. It would have been necessary to unite these different provinces under one federative government,

in which the executive power should be strongly constituted, so as to enable it to concentrate its forces promptly, and afford time to our armies to repair to its assistance. The alliance between this State and France should be, in fact, most intimate, as it could not exist but through her; and France, on her side, must at all times have a deep interest in her permanent stability.

An Italian state, containing 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 of inhabitants, possessing admirable frontiers, with the sea on both sides, with a certain chance, at the first favourable war, of augmenting its territory by the addition of the Venetian States, and of extending its line along the natural boundaries of Italy, that is to say, the Julian Alps; embracing, within its limits at a later period, the newly-constituted Genoese Republic, by means of a simple federative tie, which might leave each principality its respective independence, retaining the Pope, with the necessary conditions for his political and religious authority, including, also, the state of Naples, delivered from an incapable and sanguinary court; such a State, thus constituted, and with the additions which futurity might bring, would be the foundation of Italian regeneration, and would create a third federation, which, added to the two already existing, the German and the Swiss, would contribute immensely to the adjustment of the general balance of Europe.

With regard to the difficulty of governing Italy, that could be solved by its being placed under the protectorate of France, which, if only prolonged for one entire reign, would thus, in the infancy of the State, direct it in the path of liberty and independence.

Now, the plan actually followed at this moment did not exclude the possibility of this bright futurity, inasmuch as Piedmont might be, some day, restored to the new Italian State, the duchy of Parma, at the decease of the present duke—an event which, according to all probability, could not be far distant; Etruria itself might be restored, if it were found expedient. It was, therefore, easy to recur to this plan at a future period, and a firm and ample foundation was now being laid, by constituting the Cisalpine into an independent republic. Moreover, perhaps, it was better, at the moment, not to avow unreservedly the project of Italian regeneration, in order to avoid frightening Europe. But, to parcel out the five provinces we had already, into inconsiderable fragments, as M. de Talleyrand proposed, for the purpose of constructing one more diminutive kingdom for the benefit of an Austrian prince, was, in point of fact, handing over Italy to Austria; as this prince, whatever might be done, would always be essentially an Austrian, and the people themselves, whose hopes would have been unworthily betrayed, conceiving a well-founded hatred against France, would fly back to the Germans, out of a feeling of resentment and despair.

General Bonaparte, who had acquired his first and perhaps his greatest glory by delivering Italy from the hands of the Austrians, was not capable of committing such an error. He adopted a middle course, which did not stand in the way of an extensive scheme of Italian independence at a future period, and which, indeed, might be the commencement of it at the present time.

He accordingly bestowed upon the Cisalpine Republic the whole of Lombardy, as far as the Adige, together with the Legations and the duchy of Modena; every thing, in short, which it possessed at the peace of Campo-Formio. The duchy of Parma remained in abeyance; Piedmont, for the present, appertained to France. The Cisalpine thus constituted, contained a population of nearly 5,000,000 of people. It could easily be made to produce 70,000,000 or 80,000,000 frs., and to maintain an army of 40,000 men, which would not absorb more than one-half of its revenue, leaving sufficient resources to pay conveniently the charges of the civil government. It was protected on the north by the Alps and the Adige; on the left, it had Piedmont, now a French dependency; on the right, the Adriatic; and, on the south, Tuscany, placed under the protection of France. It was thus supported on all sides by our protective power. Immense fortified works, ordered by general Bonaparte, who was guided in their construction by that consummate quicksightedness and experience of the country, which no one in the world possessed in the same degree, must render it impregnable to the Austrians, and always capable of being timely relieved by the French. The Adige was fortified from Rivoli to Legnago, in such a manner that it could not be crossed. The environs of the Lago di Garda, and especially the position of the Rocca d'Anfo, were sufficiently well closed, so as to prevent the possibility of the line of the Adige being turned. The Mincio formed a second line in the rear. Peschiera and Mantua, with a great augmentation of territory, added considerable strength to this second line of defence. Mantua, especially, improved both in respect to the strength and healthiness of the place, might still hold out by itself, even if the Adige were forced. The object of other works was to insure at all times the arrival of the French armies. They could debouch, first by the Valais, into the Milanese, over the road of the Simplon; secondly, by Savoy, or by Provence into Piedmont, over Mont Cenis, Mont Genèvre, or the Col de Tende. It has been stated, that works were ordered to be executed, which would shortly render these four roads passable for any purpose of conveyance. It was requisite to erect solid *points d'appui*, with vast military establishments, adapted both to receive any French army, which might be suddenly compelled to evacuate the country, or if necessary, to serve the same army to debouch, when again in a state to resume the offensive. For these purposes, two sta-

tions had been pitched upon, and a vast expense had been incurred to render them effective; one at the debouché of the Simplon road, the other at the debouché of the three roads of Mont Cenis, Mont Genèvre, and the Col de Tende. The first, and the smaller of the two, was to be situated at the extremity of the Lago Maggiore. According to the plan upon which it was to be constructed, it would be capable of containing the sick, the wounded, the stores of the troops when retreating, as also the flotilla of the lake, and would be able to hold out, if invested, for three or four weeks, until an army, crossing the Simplon, could advance to its assistance. The second, and the larger fortress destined to keep Piedmont in check, and for the reception of the whole resources of the French armies, to serve also as a *point d'appui*, and as a means of descending at all times into Italy, as strong, as extensive as that of Mayence, Metz, or Lille, capable of sustaining a long siege, was to be erected at Alexandria. This point, contiguous to the field of battle of Marengo, was most favourably adapted for any great military movements, of which Italy might become the theatre. Turin was too much under the influence of a numerous, and, in some cases, hostile population. Pavia was beyond the Po. Alexandria, between the Po and the Tanaro, at the real debouché of all the roads, united great advantages, and on this account was preferred. Vast works were ordered to be executed. These latter being situated in Piedmont, the expenses were to be defrayed by the French treasury; all the others were to be paid out of the funds of the Cisalpine, as they more particularly concerned her interests.

Owing to these arrangements, France was, at all times, in a position to throw succours into the Cisalpine; she held Upper and Middle Italy under her control, and ruled over Southern Italy by her influence. She might transmit to Rome and to Naples her less ostensible commands, but they would be as much obeyed, as in Turin or in Milan.

It was necessary to confer some form of government upon this Cisalpine Republic. A beginning had been made, by the appointment of provisional authorities, consisting of an executive committee of three members, Messrs. de Somma-Riva, Visconti, and Ruga, and of a *Consultum*, a sort of legislative assembly, of limited number, chosen from amongst the wisest men, most devoted to our interests. But such a state of things could not be of long duration.

The First Consul had with him in Paris, the minister of the Cisalpine, M. de Marescalchi, besides Messrs. Aldini, Serbelloni, and Melzi, sent to France respecting the affairs of Italy. They were the most important personages of their own country. The First Consul consulted them upon the organisation best adapted for the new republic, and in concurrence with

them, digested a Constitution, resembling both the French, and the ancient Italian constitutions.

In lieu of the list of notables of M. Sieyès, which began to be decried in France, the First Consul and his fellow-labourers devised three electoral colleges, permanent and for life, with power to fill up vacancies occasioned by death. The first was to consist of great landed proprietors, to the number of 300; the second of the chief merchants, to the number of 200; the third, of literary and learned men, and the most distinguished clergy of Italy, to the number of 200. These three colleges, were to select from their own body a committee consisting of twenty-one members, called the *Commission de Censure*, whose province was to elect all the bodies of the State, and to perform the same electoral duty which the Senate fulfilled in France.

This creative authority was afterwards to nominate, under the designation of the *Consultum* of State, a Senate of eight members empowered, like that of France, to watch over the Constitution; to decide upon extraordinary emergencies; to order under arrest any dangerous individual; to exclude from the pale of the Constitution any department which might have deserved it; to deliberate upon treaties, and to nominate the President of the Republic. One of these eight members was *ex officio* minister of foreign affairs.

There was to be a Council of State under the title of Legislative Council, composed of six members, to digest the laws and regulations, and to support them before the Legislative Body; finally, a Legislative Body of seventy-five members, which was to select from this number fifteen orators, whose duty would be to discuss before it, the laws upon which it might be afterwards required to vote.

Finally, at the head of this Republic were to be a president and a vice-president, appointed for ten years. These were, as we have just said, to be nominated by the *Consultum* of State or Senate; but all the other authorities could only be formed by the choice of the *Commission de Censure*.

These functionaries of every grade were to derive considerable emoluments from their respective offices.

It may be perceived that it was an imitation of the French Constitution, with corrections, or in other words an improved edition of the work of M. Sieyès. For the list of notables were substituted three electoral colleges constituted for life. The Senate, or the *Consultum* of State, had not the power of election; it only nominated the chief of the executive power, but it deliberated on treaties, which by this arrangement were withdrawn from the tumultuous discussions of the assemblies. The Tribunate was merged into the Legislative Body. In lieu of three consuls, there was to be one president.

When the First Consul had determined, in conjunction with Messrs. Marescalchi, Aldini, Melzi, and Serbelloni, upon the adoption of this scheme of government, it became necessary to think of the persons who were to compose this government. The selection of these was of the more consequence, as the permanence of the principal bodies was of greater importance, and the good or evil resulting from their composition, would endure for a longer period. Now Italy was split, like France, into parties difficult to conciliate. On the one hand, there were the partisans of the past order of things, devoted to the Austrian government; and, on the other extreme, the *ultra* patriots, ready, as in all places, for the perpetration of all kinds of excesses, but who as yet had not shed blood, kept under restraint as they had been by the French army.. Besides these, between the two, were the moderate liberals, bearing the weight of the government, with all the unpopularity incident thereto, especially in time of war, when very heavy burdens must unavoidably be imposed upon the country. With these different parties the elections could not, as in France, produce satisfactory results. The First Consul, in order to supersede the necessity for these elections, fixed upon a plan, which was not on his part the inspiration of ambition, but rather of great good sense; this was to nominate himself the persons who should compose this government, in the same way as he had just decided upon its structure, and thus, for the first time, to make the whole of the appointments, by virtue of his own absolute authority. In taking this step he was only actuated by a desire to do good, and at all events he had an undoubted right to act as he deemed fit; as this new State was created by a simple act of his will, and in constituting it in this spontaneous manner, he had a right to model it agreeably to his own views, which, on this occasion, were unquestionably both pure and exalted.

But, amongst all these appointments, the most difficult to be decided upon was that of President. Italy, always governed by priests and foreigners, had not been able to produce statesmen; nor was there amongst them one single illustrious name, before which the others could consent to waive their own pretensions. The First Consul, accordingly, conceived the idea of conferring upon himself the dignity of President, and of nominating a Vice-President, selected from amongst the most distinguished Italian personages, to whom he could delegate the details of affairs, reserving to himself the supreme direction. For the infancy of the Republic, this was the only practicable system of government. Had it been given up to its own choice, and to an Italian president, it would soon have been like a ship left without compass, exposed to the mercy of the waves; but, the government being administered, on the contrary, by Italians, and directed at a distance by the man to whom it owed its origin, and who would remain, for a long time to come, its

protector, the great probability was that, under such a system, it would be at once both independent and well governed.

For this purpose, a solemn, imposing inauguration, was necessary, when the Constitution should be granted to the new State in due form, and all the authorities publicly proclaimed. This act of inauguration could not be celebrated with too much splendour. It should simultaneously address itself to Italy and to all Europe. The First Consul conceived the idea of a vast meeting of all the Italians at Lyons, as it was too far for them to repair to Paris, and too far for him to go to Milan. The city of Lyons, which is situated on this side of the Alps, and in which Italy, in former days, had assembled in council, was the spot naturally pointed out by circumstances. The First Consul, moreover, took an earnest and sincere interest in bringing Italians and Frenchmen to mingle in each others' society. He even aimed, by this means, at re-establishing the trade between the two countries, as it was at Lyons that the produce of Lombardy was formerly exchanged for the products of our Eastern provinces.

Some intimation of these views was given by M. de Talleyrand to the Italians sent to Paris, that is to say, Messrs. Marescalchi, Aldini, Serbelloni, and Melzi. He was only silent upon that part of the scheme which had reference to the conferring the presidency upon the First Consul. This he wished to elicit from the *Consultum*, by a burst of enthusiasm, at the period when it should assemble. The views of the First Consul were too much in conformity with the real interests of the whole country of Italy, not to meet with unanimous concurrence. Accordingly, these personages set out, and, accompanied by M. Petiet, the French minister at Milan, a wise and influential man, repaired to Lyons to perfect the plan of organisation, which had been concerted at Paris.

The scheme of the new Constitution encountered no opposition. It was received with great satisfaction, as the people were eager to emerge from the precarious state in which they lived, and to acquire a political existence well secured to them. The executive committee, and the *Consultum*, who were invested with the provisional authority, accepted the project with alacrity, with the exception of some slight modifications in the details, which were transmitted to Paris for approval, and there sanctioned. But they were very much perplexed as to the mode of first giving vitality to the new Constitution, and as to the choice of the persons who were to set it in motion. M. Petiet secretly communicated to several influential personages the idea of giving up to the First Consul the nomination of all the members of the government, from the president down to the three electoral colleges. No sooner was this idea of a supreme arbiter, so admirably situated with regard to them, as to be perfectly exempt from all the passions and prejudices which divided the

Italians, and who could only be actuated by a desire for their happiness, no sooner was this idea broached than it instantly succeeded, and the provisional government forthwith yielded up to the First Consul the power of choosing all the authorities.

A message was addressed to him, to announce to him the formal acceptance of the Constitution, and to express to him the wish of the Cisalpine people, to see the first magistrate of the French Republic exercise himself the power of choosing the magistrates of the Italian Republic.

They went no further than this, and not a word was said respecting the presidency. But it was expedient to induce the Italians to come to Lyons, and this formed the subject of a fresh communication to the members of the provisional government. They were made sensible of the extreme difficulty of constituting the Cisalpine Republic, with the First Consul residing at Paris, and who would have to select individuals to fill 700 or 800 offices, when he was necessarily at a distance both from them and their respective localities; the difficulty was also dwelt upon, of the First Consul making a journey from Paris to Milan; on the contrary, the great advantage of dividing the distance; of assembling all the Italians in a body at Lyons; of the First Consul repairing thither; of forming there a sort of great Italian diet, where the new Republic would be constituted, with a pomp and splendour which would give more solemnity to the engagement made by the First Consul on its creation, to maintain and to defend it. This idea carried something noble in it, which was calculated to please the imagination of the Italians. It succeeded just like the arrangements concerted beforehand, and was immediately adopted. A scheme was already prepared, and it was converted into a decree by the provisional government. Deputations were appointed, the members of which were chosen from the clergy, the nobility, the great landed proprietors, the mercantile body, the universities, the tribunals, and the national guards. Four hundred and fifty-two persons were selected, amongst whom were to be found venerable prelates, greatly advanced in years, some of whom would probably sink under the fatigues of the journey. They set out in the month of December, and crossed the Alps during one of the most rigorous winters that had been experienced for a long time. They were all anxious to be present at this proclamation of the independence of their country, by the hero who had achieved it. The roads of the Milanese, of Switzerland, and of the Jura were completely obstructed by the travellers. The First Consul, whose foresight extended to every thing, had given orders that these representatives of Italian nationality should want for nothing either on their journey or at Lyons, as, by their presence, they revived the recollection of his earliest and brightest triumphs. The prefect of the Rhône had made immense pre-

parations for their reception, and fitted up spacious and magnificent halls for the solemnities which were to take place. A portion of the consular guard had been sent to Lyons. The army of Egypt, formerly the army of Italy, had recently landed on its return. It was magnificently clothed in a short time, and in a manner suitable to the French climate, which seemed quite new to the soldiers, who were tanned by an Egyptian sun, so much so as to be transformed in appearance into complete Africans. The Lyonese youth had been collected, and formed into a body of cavalry, with the arms and colours of the ancient city of Lyons. M. de Talleyrand, and M. Chaptal, the minister of the interior, had preceded the First Consul on his journey, for the purpose of receiving the members of the *Consultum*. General Murat and M. Petiet had hastened from Milan, and M. Marescalchi from Paris to the general place of rendezvous. The prefects and authorities of the twenty departments were collected at Lyons. The First Consul kept them waiting, on account of the Congress of Amiens, the negotiations of which required his presence for some days longer. The Italian deputies began to grow impatient. With a view of occupying their attention, they were divided into five sections, one for each province of the new State, and the scheme of the new Constitution was presented to them. They suggested a variety of useful observations which M. de Talleyrand was instructed to listen to, to deliberate upon, and to admit, without prejudice, however, to the fundamental principles of the project. With the exception of some minute details which were modified, the new Constitution met with general approval. It was suggested also, with a view of pacifying the impatience of the Cisalpine deputies, to draw up a list of candidates, in order to assist the First Consul in the numerous selections which he had to make. This ransacking of names satisfactorily filled up their time.

The First Consul arrived on the 11th of January, 1802 (21st Nivôse). The whole population of the country, collected on the roads, waited anxiously for him day and night. They assembled round immense fires, and ran before all the carriages coming from Paris, crying out—"*Vive Bonaparte!*" The First Consul at length made his appearance, and on his road to Lyons was received throughout with the most tumultuous transports of enthusiasm. He arrived there in the evening, accompanied by his wife and his adopted children, with his aide-de-camp, and was received by his ministers, the civil and military authorities, an Italian deputation, the staff of Egypt, and the youth of Lyons mounted on horseback. The city, illuminated in every part, appeared as brilliant as at noon-day. He passed under a triumphal arch, which was surmounted by a noble emblem of consular France—a sleeping lion. He alighted at the Hôtel de Ville, which had been suitably fitted up for his residence.

The following day, the First Consul was wholly occupied in receiving the departmental deputations, and, after these, the Italian *Consultum*, which amounted to 450 members, actually present, out of 452—an instance of punctuality almost unprecedented, if the number of persons, the season, and the distance are taken into consideration; and, moreover, that one of the absentees was the respectable archbishop of Milan, who had just died of apoplexy at the house of M. de Talleyrand. The Italians, with whom the First Consul conversed in their own language, were delighted to see him again, and to find united in him all the characteristics of both the French and the Italians. The succeeding days were devoted to the last labours of the *Consultum*. The modifications proposed to be made to the Constitution had been acceded to by the First Consul; the lists of candidates were drawn up. The plan was conceived of forming a committee of thirty members, selected from the entire *Consultum*, which was to discuss with the First Consul the long series of nominations to be made. This business occupied several days, during which the First Consul, after having employed a portion of the day in seeing and entertaining the Italians, also occupied himself in the affairs of France, received the prefects and the departmental deputations, listened to a statement of their wants and wishes, and thus personally became acquainted with the true state of the Republic. The enthusiasm increased every day, and it was at the height of this general excitement, whilst the French and the Italians were in intimate communication with each other, that the idea was suggested of nominating the First Consul President of the Cisalpine Republic. Messrs. Marescalchi, Petiet, Murat, and de Talleyrand had interviews every day with the members of the Committee of Thirty, and conferred with them upon the choice of a president. When they conceived them perfectly at a loss, and divided amongst themselves about the selection, a mode of relieving them from their embarrassment was cautiously insinuated into their minds, by the suggestion of conferring upon the Italian personage, who might be most preferred, the simple dignity of vice-president, and of covering his insufficiency by the glory of the First Consul, who might be appointed president. This simple thought, still more essential to the existence of the Cisalpine, and to the administration of its affairs, than to the greatness of the First Consul, was generally approved, nevertheless, with the condition of having an Italian vice-president. Citizen Melzi was induced to accept the vice-presidency, under the First Consul. Every thing being arranged, one of the members of the Thirty made this proposition to the committee. It was received with delight, and instantly assumed the official form of a *projet* of a decree. No time was lost, and, on the following day, the *projet* was presented to the *Consultum*. They received it with accla-

mations, and proclaimed NAPOLEON BONAPARTE President of the Italian Republic. This was the first occasion on which the two names of NAPOLEON and BONAPARTE were used together. The general was to add to the title of First Consul of the French Republic that of President of the Italian Republic. A deputation was sent to him to express their wishes.

Whilst these deliberations were going on, the general of the armies of Italy and Egypt inspected his old soldiers at a public review. The demi-brigades of the army of Egypt, which there had been time to collect, had been assembled with the consular guard, with numerous detachments of troops, and the Lyonese militia. On that day the fogs of winter were dispersed, and, under a brilliant sun, but with the weather intensely cold, general Bonaparte passed along the lines of these veterans, who received him with inconceivable transports of joy. The soldiers of Egypt and of Italy, delighted to find this child of their own making grown so great, greeted him with their shouts, and tried to make him understand that they had not ceased to be worthy of him, although, for a moment, they had been commanded by chiefs unworthy of themselves. He called some of the old grenadiers out of the ranks, talked with them about the battles in which they had been engaged, and the wounds they had received; he recognised, here and there, officers whom he had seen, in more than one encounter, shook hands with them all, and filled them with a sort of intoxication, from which even he himself could not escape, at the sight of so many brave fellows, who had contributed, by their devotion, to produce the wondrous fortune which he enjoyed, and which France enjoyed with him. This scene took place upon the ruins of the Place Bellecour, and obliterated the sad recollection connected with the spot, in the same way that glory makes us forget the troubles we have endured.

At the entrance of the Hôtel de Ville, on his return from this review, the First Consul found the deputation of the *Consulta*, received their address, intimated his acceptance of their proposal, and that, on the following day, he would give his reply to this new mark of confidence of the Italian nation.

On the next day, 26th of January (6th Pluviôse), he repaired to the spot where the general sittings of the *Consulta* had been held. It was at a great church fitted up and decorated for this purpose. All the arrangements were similar to those observed, both in France and in England, when royalty is present at the sittings. The First Consul, surrounded by his family, by the French ministers, by a great number of generals and prefects, was seated upon a dais. He delivered in the Italian language, which he spoke perfectly, a simple and dignified speech, in which he announced his acceptance of the dignity, explained his views respecting the government and prosperity of the new Republic, and proclaimed the chief selections which he had made in con-

formity with the wishes of the *Consultum*. His words were drowned in cries of "*Vive Bonaparte! Vive le Premier Consul de la République Française! Vive le President de la République Italienne!*" The Constitution was afterwards read, together with the list of all the citizens who were to aid in carrying it into effect. A long continued shout of applause expressed the concord which prevailed between the Italians and the hero who had enfranchised them. This sitting was most solemn and imposing; it opened in a suitably dignified manner the proceedings of the new Republic, which, henceforward, was to be designated the ITALIAN REPUBLIC. Upon this occasion, as upon so many others, only one wish could be expressed respecting general Bonaparte; that the creative genius which inspired this favourite of fortune might ever go hand in hand with the conservative genius, by which alone his works could be perpetuated.

The First Consul had now been twenty days at Lyons. The government of France required his presence at Paris, as he had to give his final orders for the signature of the definitive treaty of peace, which was in course of negotiation at the Congress of Amiens. During this time, the consul Cambacerès and the Senate were labouring to get rid of the unruly members, who had opposed him so violently at a moment of his career when he had least of all deserved it. He was about to be in a position to resume that long series of labours which constituted the happiness and greatness of France. He was accordingly urgent to return to Paris, to resume his accustomed occupations, to acquire there, probably, as a reward for his labours, a new glory, which would be only a just recompense for the most noble, comprehensive ambition ever embraced by the conception of man.

He set out on the 28th of January (8th Pluviôse), leaving the Italians filled with enthusiasm and hope, and also the Lyonese delighted with having had a visit of some days from the extraordinary man, whose fame was spread throughout the whole world, and who had shown so marked a predilection for their city. He had received from the emperor Alexander an answer to a letter, in which he solicited some advantages for the trade of Lyons. The substance of this answer, which intimated the most friendly dispositions on the part of Russia, was published, and produced the greatest satisfaction. On his departure, the First Consul presented the three mayors of the city of Lyons with three scarfs in commemoration of this glorious visit. The inhabitants of Bordeaux had sent a deputation to request him to come within their walls. He made them a promise to this effect, as soon as the definitive peace should afford him a little leisure. He came back by way of St. Etienne and Nevers, and reached Paris on the 31st of January (11th Pluviôse).

* We subjoin some extracts from the correspondence of the First Consul during his stay at Lyons.

To the Consuls Cambacérès and Lebrun.

"Lyons, 24th Nivôse, year X. (14th of January, 1802.)

"I have received, Citizens Consuls, your letter of the 21st. The weather is excessively cold here, and I pass the mornings, from noon till six o'clock, in receiving the prefects and the notables of the neighbouring departments. You know perfectly well that at this sort of conferences, one must talk a great deal.

"This evening the city of Lyons gives a concert and ball. I am going there in about an hour.

"The labours of the *Consultum* are in progress.

"The troops of the army of the East are now arriving in great strength at Lyons; I am taking steps to have them clothed, I hope to review them on the 28th.

"I continue to be extremely pleased with every thing I see, both with the people of Lyons, and with those of the south of France.

"The negotiations at Amiens appear to be getting on.

"I congratulate you on the manner in which every thing proceeds under your direction.

"Joseph writes to me from Amiens, that lord Cornwallis told him that the British cabinet has received favourable news about the French army at St. Domingo, and that a spirit of dissension had manifested itself in Toussaint's army."

From the Same.

"Lyons, 26th Nivôse, year X. (16th of January, 1802.)

"I have received, Citizens Consuls, your despatches of the 22nd and 23rd Nivôse.....The Lyonese have given us a most magnificent *fête*. Annexed you will find the details, with the songs sung on the occasion.

"I am proceeding very slowly in my operations, as I pass the whole of my mornings in giving audience to the deputations of the neighbouring departments.

"It is very fine to-day, but very cold.

"The improvement in the happiness of the Republic, during the last two years is obvious. The population of Lyons has increased during the years VIII. and IX. more than 20,000 souls; and all the manufacturers that I have seen from St. Etienne, Annonay, &c., tell me that their works are in a high state of activity.

"All minds seem to be full of energy, not that which overturns empires, but that which re-establishes them, and conduces to their prosperity and riches.

"I shall, in a few days, review nearly six demi-brigades of the army of the East."

To the Consul Cambacérès.

"Lyons, 28th Nivôse, year X. (18th of January, 1802.)

"I have just received, Citizen Consul, a deputation from Bordeaux. It has presented a petition to me, soliciting me to visit their city, which I have promised to do, as soon as their relations with the West Indies and the Isle of France shall be in full activity.

"Your letter of the 25th communicates to me the deliberations of the Senate. I beg you particularly to see that the twenty and the sixty unruly members whom we have in the constituted authorities, are every one got rid of. The wish of the nation is, that the government shall not be obstructed in its endeavours to act for the public good, and that the head of Medusa shall no longer show itself, either in our tribunes, or in our assemblies.

"Sieyès' conduct on the present occasion completely proves that, having contributed to the destruction of all the several constitutions since '91, he wants now to try his hand against the present. It is very extraordinary that he cannot perceive the folly of it. He ought to burn a wax-candle to Our Lady, for having got out of the scrape so fortunately, and in so unexpected a

manner; but, the older I grow, the more I perceive that each man must fulfil his destiny.

"I take it for granted that you have taken the proper measures for demolishing the Châtelet.

"If the minister of marine should stand in need of the frigates of the king of Naples, he may make use of them. Indeed, it will be as well to despatch them to America as soon as possible. Every thing can be arranged afterwards with the king of Naples.

"The cold is not so great to-day.

"General Jourdan, who has arrived to-day from Piedmont, gives me a very satisfactory account of the state of that province.

"The proceedings of the *Consultum* are in an advanced state, all their organic laws are being digested.

"I have been occupied part of the morning in a conference with the prefects.

"I recommend you to see the minister of marine, to ascertain whether the provisions for St. Domingo, have been actually sent off."

To the Consuls Cambacérès and Lebrun.

"Lyons, 30th Nivôse, year X. (20th of January, 1802.)

"I should wish, Citizens Consuls, the minister of the public treasury to send citizen Roger to the 16th military division, to examine into the accounts of the paymaster, and those of the principal receivers of the departments composing that division.

"I also wish the minister of the public treasury to send to Rennes some individual like citizen Roger, to perform the same duty in the 13th military division.

"Despatch also the councillors of State, Thibaudeau and Fourcroy, one to the 13th military division, and the other to the 16th, to inspect these divisions in the same way as they did on their former mission. One subject of complaint is, that the minister of war has not caused the compensation money, in lieu of forage and lodging, for the first three months of the year X. to be paid over to the officers, that the receivers keep the money a long time, and that the paymasters put off the payment to as late a period as they can. The paymasters and the receivers are the greatest nuisances in the State."

To the Same.

"Lyons, 30th Nivôse, year X. (20th of January, 1802.)

"I have received, Citizens Consuls, your letter of the 26th and 27th. At Lyons, as at Paris, the weather has become considerably milder.

"Yesterday, I visited several factories. I was pleased with the industry, and with the severe economy, which, I thought I perceived practised throughout, by the manufacturers in the employment of their workmen.

"I ought to-day to have held my grand review, but I have postponed it till the 5th Pluviôse; the troops of the army of the East had not yet got their new clothes; I am in hopes that by the 5th, they will be all ready, so that they will present a fine appearance.

"I perceive, with much pleasure, the decision you have come to about the Châtelet. If the weather should become severe, I do not think the steps you have taken, of allowing 4000 frs. per month for the extraordinary factories, will be sufficient.

"Besides the 100,000 frs. which the minister of the interior grants monthly to the Committees of *Bienfaisance*, it will be necessary for you to add a further sum of 25,000 frs., extraordinary, for the distribution of wood, and if the cold weather returns, it will be necessary, as in '89, to light fires in the churches and other great buildings, to give warmth to a great number of people.

"I calculate on being back in Paris in the course of the Decade. I beg you to consider whether it will not be expedient to insert in the *Moniteur*, the last message to the Senate, and to add two lines at the bottom, to state that

the Senate having appointed a commission, which made its report in the sitting of the ...., it is decided upon to proceed to a renewal of the chamber, in conformity with the XXXVIIIth Article of the Constitution, &c. &c.

"Reports from various quarters lead me to believe, that Caprara requires the priests to sign some formula or profession of faith, couched nearly in these words:—

"'We rejoice, moreover, in hereby making a solemn profession of filial respect, of complete submission, and perfect obedience to,' &c. &c.

"This information has reached me, amongst the rest, from Maëstricht. I beg you to confer upon the subject with Portalis. This formula appears to me quite inconceivable."

To the Same.

"Lyons, 2nd Pluviôse, year X. (22nd January, 1802.)

"I only received to-day, Citizens Consuls, your letter of the 29th Nivôse, which reached me about three o'clock in the afternoon. The thaw and the inundations have retarded your courier some hours.

"The forage department is entirely disorganised in the department of the Drôme; an amount of 10,000 francs must be set apart out of the ordonnance of Pluviôse, until this branch of the service is placed upon a proper footing.

"The civil hospitals, which are allowed only fourteen sous per day for the sick military, complain that they have not yet received any thing for the year X. That of Valence even, besides the whole year X., claims an arrear for the month of Fructidor, IX.

"The order issued for the organisation of the Piedmontese troops, which I signed more than a month ago, has not yet reached Turin, which occasions some degree of perplexity amongst those troops. Generally speaking, there is a good deal of backwardness, and any thing but activity, in the war department: this is the general opinion amongst all who have any thing to do with that department.

"It is indispensably requisite that the minister of war should send a good and experienced commissary to Turin....

"All the most important arrangements of the *Consultum* are decided upon. I still depend upon reaching Paris in the course of the Decade.

"It would be desirable, for the Senate to name a dozen prefects either to the Tribunate or to the Legislative Body. The prefect of Mont Blanc should be amongst them.

"I should wish you to insert in the journals some articles respecting the roguery of Fouilloux, to turn into ridicule the foreign gulls, who spread absurd reports, which had no other foundation than the written bulletin of a rogue in a small way, who was in want of a dinner, and duped them. It would be as well to recur to this subject several times."

To the Same.

"Lyons, 6th Pluviôse, year X. (26th January, 1802.)

"I have received, Citizens Consuls, your letter of the 2nd Pluviôse.

"I had to-day a grand review on the Place Bellecour. The weather was magnificent. The sun shone as if it were the month of Floréal.

"The *Consultum* has appointed a committee of thirty individuals, which has made a report to the effect that, considering the interior and exterior circumstances of the Cisalpine Republic, it was indispensable to leave me to perform the duty of the chief magistracy, until circumstances should permit, or I should deem it expedient to appoint a successor. To-morrow I calculate upon presenting myself to the assembled *Consultum*. The constitution will be read, with the list of the appointments, and every thing will be brought to a conclusion. I shall be in Paris on Decadi."

To the Same.

"Lyons, 6th Pluviôse, year X. (26th January, 1802.)

"I have received, Citizens Consuls, your letter of the 3rd Pluviôse. I

think it will be well to wait till the peace of Amiens is signed, before we raise the state of siege of the city of Brest.

"At two o'clock I went to the hall of the sittings of the extraordinary *Consultum*; I delivered a short speech in Italian, of which you will find enclosed a French translation. The Constitution was read, the first organic law, and one relating to the clergy. The different nominations were published.

"I will send you to-morrow a minute of the whole proceedings of the *Consultum*, in which will be found a copy of the Constitution. The two ministers, four councillors of State, twenty prefects, with the general and superior officers accompanied me. This sitting exhibited both majesty and unanimity, and I hope that the Congress of Lyons will produce all the results which I anticipated from it.

"I think it is useless, unless false reports are circulated about the Congress of Lyons, to publish any thing before the arrival of the courier whom I shall send you to-morrow. Only in case of its being rumoured that the *Consultum* has nominated me president, you can print the two papers enclosed, which will make known the exact turn that matters have taken.

"I shall be occupied all day to-morrow in bringing the whole business to a close, and I shall start at night. On Decadi, I shall be in Paris...."

BOOK XIV.

CONSULATE FOR LIFE.

Arrival of the First Consul in Paris—Scrutiny of the Senate, which excludes sixty Members of the Legislative Body and twenty Members of the Tribunate—The excluded Members succeeded by Men devoted to the Government—End of the Congress of Amiens—Some Difficulties arise at the last Moment of the Negotiation, in consequence of Jealousies excited in England—The First Consul surmounts these Difficulties by his Moderation and his Firmness—The Definitive Peace signed 25th of March, 1802—Although the first Enthusiasm for Peace has subsided in France and in England, they welcome, with renewed Joy, the Hope of a sincere and durable Reconciliation—Extraordinary Session of the Year X., destined to convert into Law, the Concordat, the Treaty of Amiens, and different Projects of high importance—The Law for regulating Religious Matters added to the Concordat, under the Title of *Organic Articles*—Presentation of this Law and of the Concordat to the new Legislative Body and Tribunate—Coldness with which these two Projects are received, even after the Exclusion of the Oppositionists—They are adopted—The First Consul fixes on Easter Sunday for the Publication of the Concordat, and for the first Ceremony of the Re-established Religion—Organisation of the New Clergy—Part assigned to the Constitutionalists in the Nomination of Bishops—Cardinal Caprara refuses, in the name of the Holy See, to institute the Constitutionalists—Firmness of the First Consul, and submission of Cardinal Caprara—Official Reception of the Cardinal as Legate *à latere*—Consecration of the four principal Bishops at Notre Dame on Palm Sunday—Curiosity and Emotion of the Public—The very Eve of Easter Day, and of the solemn *Te Deum* which was to be chanted at Notre Dame, Cardinal Caprara wishes to impose on the Constitutionalists a humiliating Recantation of their Past Conduct—New Resistance on the part of the First Consul—Cardinal Caprara does not yield until the Night before Easter Day—Repugnance of the Generals to repair to Notre Dame—The First Consul obliges them to it—Solemn *Te Deum* and Official Restoration of Religion—Adherence of the Public, and Joy of the First Consul on seeing the Success of his Efforts—Publication of the *Génie du Christianisme*—Project of a General Amnesty with regard to the Emigrants—This Measure, having been discussed in the Council of State, becomes the Object of a *Senatus Consultum*—Views of the First Consul on the Organisation of Society in France—His Opinions on Social Distinctions, and on the Education of Youth—Two Projects of Law of High Importance, on the Institution of the Legion of Honour, and on Public Instruction—Discussion of these two Projects in a full Council of State—Character of the Discussions of that Great Body—Language of the First Consul—Presentation of the two Projects to the Legislative Body and to the Tribunate—Adoption, by a great Majority, of the Project of Law relative to Public Instruction—A large Minority pronounces against the Project relative to the Legion of Honour—The Treaty of Amiens presented last, as the Crowning Work of the First Consul—Reception given to this Treaty—It affords occasion for saying that a National Recompense ought to be conferred on the Author of all the Benefits enjoyed by France

—The Partisans and Brothers of Bonaparte contemplate the Re-establishment of Monarchy—This Idea appears premature—The Idea of conferring the Consulate for Life prevails generally—The Consul Cambacérès offers his Intervention with the Senate—Dissimulation of the First Consul, who will not avow what he is desirous of—Embarrassment of Consul Cambacérès — His Efforts to induce the Senate to confer the Consulate on General Bonaparte for the rest of his Life—The Secret Enemies of the General profit by his Silence to persuade the Senate that a Prolongation of the Consulate for Ten Years should suffice—Vote of the Senate on this Construction—Displeasure of the First Consul—He thinks of refusing—His Colleague, Cambacérès, hinders him from doing so, and proposes, as an Expedient, to appeal to the National Sovereignty, and to put the question to France, to know if General Bonaparte shall be Consul for Life—The Council of State charged to draw up the Question—Opening of Registries to secure Votes in the Mayoralty Offices, the Tribunals, and the Offices of Notaries Public—Eagerness of all the Citizens to tender their Affirmative Votes—Change wrought in the Constitution of M. Sieyès —The First Consul receives the Consulate for Life, with the power of appointing a Successor—The Senate is invested with the Constituent Power — The Lists of Notability abolished, and replaced by electoral Colleges for Life—The Tribunate reduced to be only a Section of the Council of State—The new Constitution becomes completely Monarchical —Civil List of the First Consul—He is proclaimed solemnly by the Senate — General Satisfaction at having founded, at last, a strong and durable Power—The First Consul takes the Name of Napoleon Bonaparte—His Moral Power is at its Culminating Point—*Resumé* of this Period of Three Years.

BOOK XIV.

THE CONSULATE FOR LIFE.

THE journey of the First Consul to Lyons had had for its object the constitution of the Italian Republic, and to secure to himself the government of it, for the advantage of Italy and of France. His object was, also, to embarrass the opposition, and to bring it into discredit by leaving it idle, by proving that good was impossible to be expected while hampered by it; in fine, to give time to the consul Cambacérès to exclude from the Legislative Body and from the Tribunate the most restless and most troublesome members.

Every wish was realised. The Italian Republic, constituted with *éclat*, found itself bound to the policy of France without losing its own integrity. The oppositionists in the Tribunate, and in the Legislative Body, struck by the message which withdrew the Civil Code, being left in Paris without a single project of law to discuss, knew not how to extricate themselves from the dilemma. Everywhere it was laid to their charge that they interrupted the best efforts of government: everywhere they were blamed for a petty and unreasonable imitation of the agitators of former days. So situated, M. Cambacérès dealt them the last blow by the ingenious plan that he had conceived. He sent for the able lawyer, Tronchet, who had been introduced into the Senate by his influence, and in which body he enjoyed the twofold influence of learning and character. He communicated his plan, and obtained his approval of it. We have seen in the preceding book what that plan was; we have seen that it consisted in the interpretation of Article XXXVIII. of the Constitution, which fixed for the year X. the going out of a first fifth of the Tribunate and of the Legislative Body, and the giving to the Senate the power of designating that fifth. There were many reasons for and against this mode of interpretation of Article XXXVIII.: the best of all was the necessity of affording to the executive power the faculty of dissolution, which had not been made one of its attributes by the Constitution. M. Tronchet, a wise man, a good citizen, admiring, and at the same time fearing the First Consul, but judging him indispensable, and foreseeing with M. Cambacérès that if he were not delivered

from the importunate opposition of the Tribunate, he would have recourse to violent measures, even from solicitude to effect the good which they prevented him from doing, M. Tronchet entered into the views of the government, and undertook to prepare the Senate for the adoption of the projected measures. He succeeded in it without difficulty, for the Senate felt that it had been rendered an accomplice and a dupe of the ill humour of the oppositionists. That body had already receded with great haste and little dignity in the affair of the elections. Swayed by that love of repose and of power which had taken possession of every body, it consented to remove the oppositionists whose projects it had at first seconded. The plan having been favourably received by the principal personages of the body, Lacépède, La Place, Jacqueminot, and others, they proceeded without delay to its execution by a message dated January 7, 1802 (17th Nivôse, year X.).

"Senators," said the message, "Article XXXVIII. of the Constitution ordains that the renewal of the first fifth of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunate should take place within the year X., and we are close on the fourth month of that year. The Consuls have thought it their duty to call your attention to this circumstance. Your wisdom will find in it the necessity of taking into consideration without delay the operations which must precede this renewal."

This message, the intention of which it was easy to guess, struck with surprise the oppositionists of both legislative assemblies, and naturally excited in them the most vehement irritation. From thoughtlessness, from impulse, they had run headlong in that career of opposition, without foreseeing the issue of it, and they were strangely surprised by the blow which threatened them, a blow, which would have been more severe, but for the intervention of M. Cambacérès. They assembled to draw up a memorial and present it to the Senate. M. Cambacérès, who was personally acquainted with almost all of them, addressed himself to the least compromised. He represented to them that, in further signalising themselves by their resistance, they would draw upon them, individually, the attention of the Senate, and the exercise of the power of exclusion with which that body was about to be invested. This observation quieted the greater number of them, and they awaited in silence the decision of that supreme authority. In the sittings of the 15th and 18th of January (25th and 28th Nivôse), the Senate resolved the question arising out of the message of the Consuls. By a very great majority, it decided that the renewal of the first fifth, in the two legislative assemblies, should take place immediately, and that the designation of that fifth should be made by ballot and not by lot. But a modification of form was adopted, and instead of ballotting for those who were to go out, it was decided that the ballot should

designate those who were to stay in. Hence the measure had the appearance of a preference, in place of having that of an exclusion. By means of this slight softening down of form, they proceeded, without delay, to the designation of the 240 members of the Legislative Body, and of the eighty members of the Tribunate, destined to continue in the legislature. The senators, most immediately under the influence of the government were entrusted with the secret of the members to be saved from exclusion, and at the close of January (the end of Nivôse and commencement of Pluviôse), the ballots of the Senate, followed up without intermission, effected the separation of the partisans from the opposers of government. Sixty members of the Legislative Body, who had shown most resistance to the projects of the First Consul, particularly to the project of the re-establishment of religion, and twenty of the most active members of the Tribunate, were struck off by exclusion, or, in the language of the day, by elimination. The leading men amongst the twenty, were Messrs. Chénier, Ginguené, Chazal, Bailleul, Courtois, Ganilh, Daunou, and Benjamin Constant. The remainder, less known, men of letters or of business, former conventionalists, former priests, had no other claim to admission into the Tribunate than the friendship of M. Sieyès and his party; the same claim was the cause of their exclusion.

Such was the end, not of the Tribunate, which continued in existence some time longer, but of the momentary importance which this body had acquired. It might have been desirable that the First Consul, so full of glory, so indemnified by the universal adherence of France for an unseemly opposition, could have made up his mind to bear with a few impotent detractors. This resignation would have been more worthy, and also less hurtful to the species of liberty which he would have been able to leave us at the time, in order to prepare for us at a later period a genuine liberty. But in this world wisdom is more rare than ability, more rare even than genius; for, wisdom implies a victory over one's own passions, a victory of which great men are not more capable than little men. The First Consul, it must be acknowledged, wanted wisdom on this occasion, and one single excuse can alone be made in his favour; it is, that such an opposition, emboldened by his patience, would have become, perhaps, more than inconvenient, ay, dangerous, and even insurmountable, if the majority of the Legislative Body and of the Senate had at last taken part in it, which was possible. This excuse has some foundation, and it proves that there are times in which dictatorship is necessary, even in countries which are free, or are destined to be free.

As to this opposition of the Tribunate, it has not merited the eulogies which have so often been awarded to it. Inconsistent and shuffling, it resisted the Civil Code, the re-establishment of religion, in fine, the best acts of the First Consul, and looked on,

in silence, at the proscription of the unfortunate revolutionists, who had been unjustly transported on account of that infernal machine, of which they were not the originators. The tribunes had held their tongues at that time, because the terrible explosion of the 3rd Nivôse had stunned them with terror, and they dared not defend the principles of justice, in the persons of men the greater number of whom were stained with blood. The courage which they lacked for blaming a flagrant illegality, they sadly found for impeding excellent measures! If, however, a sincere sentiment of liberty inspired many among them, in others there could be seen that vexatious spirit of envy, which animated the Tribunate against the Council of State, the men reduced to do-nothings against those who had the power to do every thing. They committed, then, serious faults, and unhappily provoked not less serious ones on the part of the First Consul: deplorable concatenation, which history so often observes in our agitated world, the passions of which are invariably the moving principle.

It was necessary to find successors for the excluded fifth in the Legislative Body and the Tribunate. The majority, who had pronounced the exclusion, pronounced the new admissions, and did it in the most satisfactory manner for the consular government. They made use, for the new elections, of the lists of notability invented by M. Sieyès as a principal basis of the Constitution. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Council of State to find out a suitable manner of forming these lists, not one of the systems devised had remedied the inconvenience of the principle. The lists were slow and difficult of formation, because the citizens were not zealous about them, for they saw in this vast presentation of candidates, no direct and immediate means of influencing the composition of the chief authorities. They were in reality only a method of saving appearances, and of dissembling the necessity, at the time inevitable, of the composition of the great bodies of the State by themselves; for every election turned out badly, that is to say, went to extremes. There had been the greatest difficulty in completing these lists, and, out of 102 departments then existing, two of which, those of Corsica, were out of the pale of the law, four, those of the left bank of the Rhine, not organised, and eighty-three only had sent in their lists. It was agreed that the selections should be made from the lists sent in, with a reservation of indemnity, by after-selections, to the departments which had not yet executed the law.

There were called to the Legislative Body a large number of those great proprietors, whom the new security which they were enabled to enjoy induced to abandon the retirement in which they had hitherto sought to live. There were also called to it some prefects, some magistrates, who, for three years past, had been in training to the practice of business affairs under the

direction of the consular government. Amongst the personages introduced to the Tribunate was Lucien Bonaparte, who had returned from Spain, after an embassy more agitated than useful; and who affected to desire nothing more than a quiet life employed in serving his brother, in one of the great bodies of the State. Along with him had been introduced Carnot, who had lately been in the ministry of war, where he had not succeeded in pleasing the First Consul. Carnot was not more favourable to the consular government than the recently excluded tribunes; but he was a grave personage, universally respected, whose opposition would not be very active, and whom the Revolution could not have laid aside without hateful ingratitude. This nomination was, in other words, a last homage to liberty. Next to these two names, the most notable was that of M. Daru, an able and upright administrator, a man of a discreet and cultivated understanding.

Whilst these operations were in progress, the First Consul had returned to Paris, after an absence of twenty-four days. He arrived on the evening of the 31st of January (11th Pluviôse). In every quarter there was submission, and that singular movement of resistance, which was seen not long before in both legislative assemblies, was now completely appeased. The new authority with which the First Consul had been invested, had itself acted on the public mind. Assuredly it was not much for the power of the First Consul to have the Italian Republic added to that French Republic which had conquered and disarmed the world; but that example of deference given to the genius of general Bonaparte by an allied people had produced a great effect. The bodies of the State all came eagerly to offer him their congratulations, and to address to him speeches in which, along with the loftiness of language that he ordinarily inspired, was to be found a marked tone of respect. It seemed as if one saw already, on that domineering brow, the double crown of France and of Italy.

He had all power now, both for the organisation of France, which was his first object, and for his personal aggrandizement, which was his second. He had no longer to apprehend that the Codes which he had caused to be drawn up, and which he caused to be again revised, nor that the arrangements concluded with the Pope for the restoration of the altars, would be thwarted by the ill will or the prejudices of the great bodies of the State. These were not the only projects that he contemplated. For some months, he had been preparing a vast system of public instruction, to mould the youth of France to the system which had sprung from the Revolution. He was projecting a plan of national rewards, which, under a military form, suitable to the time and to the warlike imagination of the French, might also serve to remunerate great civil actions as well as great military actions; this was the Legion of Honour, a noble institution,

long meditated in private, and certainly not the least difficult of the works which the First Consul wished to render agreeable to Republican France. He wished also to close one of the deepest wounds of the Revolution—emigration. Many Frenchmen were still living in foreign countries, nursing the bad feelings which exile imparts, deprived of their families, their fortune, and their country. With the project of effacing the traces of our deep discords, and of preserving all the good that attended the Revolution, of separating from it all the evil mixed up with it, emigration was one of its results which could not be allowed to subsist. But, on account of those who had acquired national property, persons ever susceptible and distrustful, it was one of the most difficult acts, and one which required most courage. Yet the time was at hand when such an act was likely to become possible. In fine, if, as it was said on all sides at that period, it was requisite to consolidate power in the hands of the man who had exercised it in a manner so admirable: if it were requisite to give his authority a new, a more elevated, a more lasting character than that of a temporary magistracy of ten years, three of which had already passed away, the moment had already arrived; for public prosperity, the fruit of order, victory, and peace, was at its height; it was felt at that instant, with a fervency which time might damp, but could not increase.

Meanwhile, these projects for the public weal and for personal aggrandizement, which he fostered together, needed, for their accomplishment, one last act, namely, the definitive conclusion of the maritime peace, which was negotiating at the Congress of Amiens. The preliminaries of London had laid down the basis of this peace; but, as long as these preliminaries were not converted into a definitive treaty, the alarmists, interested in disturbing public repose, did not fail to say every week that the negotiation was broken off, and that the country would soon be replunged into a maritime war, and by a maritime war into a continental war. Wherefore, immediately on his return to Paris, the First Consul imparted new activity to the negotiations at Amiens. "Sign," he wrote day after day to Joseph, "for, after the preliminaries, there is no other serious question to discuss." This was true. The preliminaries of London had resolved the only important questions, in stipulating the restitution of all the maritime conquests of the English, excepting Ceylon and Trinidad, which the Dutch and Spaniards were to sacrifice. The English had, to be sure, demanded of the Congress of Amiens the little island of Tobago; but the First Consul had firmly resisted this, and they had renounced it. Hence, there was no other controversy, but relative to points altogether accessory, such as the support of prisoners, and the form of government to be given to Malta.

We have, in a preceding chapter, explained the difficulty with regard to prisoners. It was a mere question of money,

always easy to be resolved. The form of government to be given to Malta presented a more real difficulty, for a reciprocal distrust complicated the views of the two powers. The First Consul, by a singular presentiment, wished to demolish the fortifications of the island, to reduce it to a rock, and to make of it a neutral lazaretto, open to all nations. The English, who looked on Malta as a stepping-stone by which to reach Egypt, said that the rock of itself was too important to leave it always accessible to the French, who, from Italy might pass into Sicily, from Sicily into Malta. They proposed the re-establishment of the Order on its ancient basis, with the creation of an English tongue and a Maltese tongue, the latter composed of the inhabitants of the island, who were devoted to them. The First Consul had not admitted these conditions; for, in the state of manners in France, there could be no hope of creating a French tongue numerous enough to counterbalance the creation of an English tongue. Finally, this point was settled. The Order was to be re-established without there being any new tongue. A different Grand Master was to be named, for M. de Hompesch, who, in 1798, had delivered up Malta to general Bonaparte, was not to be thought of. Awaiting the re-organisation of the Order, it was decided that the king of Naples should be asked to furnish a Neapolitan garrison of 2000 men, who were to be stationed in the island on its evacuation by the English. By way of additional precaution, it was desired that some great power should guarantee this arrangement, to preserve Malta from any attacks like those which, for the last five years, had made it fall at one time under the power of the French, at another under that of the English. There were thoughts of making application to Russia to furnish that guarantee, grounding it on the kindness which that power had shown for the Order under Paul I. All these points were settled at the time of the departure of the First Consul for Lyons. The fisheries, re-established on their former footing; the territorial indemnity promised in Germany to the house of Orange, for the loss of the stadtholdership; the peace and integrity of territory secured, whether to Portugal or Turkey, presented only resolved questions. However, since the return of the First Consul to Paris, the negotiation appeared languid, and lord Cornwallis seemed to retreat in disquietude, as the French negotiator advanced with new steps towards him. Lord Cornwallis could not be suspected, good and estimable soldier as he was, who wished only for an amicable termination of the difficulties of the negotiation, and to add to his military services the performance of a great civil service, that of giving peace to his native land. But his instructions had suddenly become more rigorous, and the pain that he felt on this account was plainly depicted in his face. His cabinet had enjoined him, in fact, to be more particular, more vigilant in the

wording of the treaty, and had imposed on him conditions of detail, which it was difficult for him to reconcile with the haughty and distrustful humour of the First Consul. This brave officer, who had hoped to crown his career by a memorable act, had reason to fear that he should see his old renown tarnished by the part he was about to be compelled to play in a negotiation shamefully broken off. In his vexation he unbosomed himself freely to Joseph Bonaparte, and joined with him in making sincere efforts to overcome the obstacles opposed to the conclusion of peace.

It will be asked, what motive could have destroyed all at once, or, at least, cooled, the pacific dispositions of the cabinet over which Mr. Addington presided? That motive is easy to be understood. The administration had taken a different tack, no uncommon thing in free countries. The preliminaries had been signed six months, and in this intermediate state, which, excepting the absence of cannonading, was very like war, few benefits had been conferred by the peace. The leading merchants, who, in England, were the class most interested in the resumption of hostilities, because war afforded them a universal monopoly, had hoped to indemnify themselves for what they were losing, by making numerous shipments to the ports of France. There, they found prohibitory regulations which had originated during a violent contest, and which there had not been time to soften down. The people, who were hoping for a fall in the price of provisions, had not hitherto seen their hopes realised; for a definitive treaty was necessary to overcome the speculators, who kept the prices of corn still very high. Finally, the great landed proprietors, who wished for a reduction of all imposts, and the middle classes, who were demanding the repeal of the income-tax, had not yet reaped any of the fruits promised by the pacification of the world. A little disenchantment had then succeeded that unparalleled infatuation for peace, which, six months previously, had suddenly seized on the English people — a people just as subject to infatuation as the French. But, more than all the rest, the scenes at Lyons had acted on its jealous fancy. That taking possession of Italy, made so manifest, had appeared for France and for her chief something so great, that British jealousy had been warmly excited by it. It was an additional argument for the war party, who already were not backward in saying that France was growing greater and greater, and England less and less in proportion. A recent and far-spread piece of news likewise acted on their minds; it was that of a considerable acquisition made by the French in America. Tuscany had been seen given away, under the title of kingdom

of Etruria, to an infante, without the price of that gift, paid by Spain, having been made known. Now that the First Consul claimed, at Madrid, the cession of Louisiana, which was the stipulated equivalent for Tuscany, this condition of the treaty became divulged; and that fact, joined to the St. Domingo expedition, revealed new and vast projects in America. To all this was added that a considerable port was acquired by France in the Mediterranean, namely, that of the isle of Elba, in exchange for the duchy of Piombino.

These different reports, spread at once, whilst the *Consultum* assembled at Lyons was decreeing to general Bonaparte the government of Italy, gave some strength to the war party in London, which had been previously obliged to shroud itself in extreme reserve, and to hail, at least with hypocritical homage, the re-establishment of peace.

Mr. Pitt, who had retired from the cabinet the year before, but who was still more powerful in his retirement than were his upright and weak successors in their plenitude of power, was silent on the preliminaries. He had said nothing about the conditions, but he had approved of the fact of the peace itself. His former colleagues, very inferior to him and consequently less moderate, Messrs. Wyndham, Dundas, Grenville, had blamed the weakness of the Addington cabinet, and found the conditions of the preliminaries disadvantageous to Great Britain. On learning the departure of a fleet conveying 20,000 men to St. Domingo, they had exclaimed against the stupidity of Mr. Addington, who had allowed a squadron to pass which was destined to re-establish the French power in the Antilles, without having first secured a definitive peace. They predicted that he would be the victim of his imprudent confidence. With the news of the events at Lyons, of the cession of Louisiana, of the acquisition of the Isle of Elba, they exclaimed still more loudly, and lord Carlisle had made a violent attack upon the gigantic ambition of France, and upon the weakness of the new British cabinet.

Mr. Pitt continued silent, thinking that it was necessary to allow this fondness for peace, with which the London multitude seemed to be smitten, to exhaust itself, and that it was becoming to protect, for some time longer, the cabinet destined to satisfy a taste probably transient. The English cabinet itself appeared moved by the effect produced on public opinion; but it feared much more what would be said, if the peace were broken off as soon as entered on, and if a treaty in form were not to take the place of the preliminaries. It confined itself then to dispatching some armed vessels, which had been prematurely called into harbour, and sending them to the Antilles to watch the French fleet which had sailed for St. Domingo. It sent instructions to lord Cornwallis which, without changing the groundwork of things, aggravated certain condi-

tions, and overloaded the definitive treaty with precautions either useless, or disagreeable to the dignity of the French government. Lord Hawkesbury wished for the precise stipulation of a sum of money to be paid to England for the number of prisoners which she had had to support; he wished that Holland should pay the house of Orange an indemnity in money, independently of the indemnity of territory promised in Germany; he wished it to be formally stipulated, that the former Grand Master should not be reinstated as the head of the order of Malta. He would above all have desired to make a Turkish plenipotentiary figure at the Congress of Amiens; for, ever filled with the remembrance of Egypt, the British cabinet clung to their intention of curbing the daring of the First Consul in the East. In fine, he wished for an instrument which might give Portugal the means of escaping the stipulations of the treaty of Badajoz, stipulations, in virtue of which the court of Lisbon had lost Olivenza in Europe and a certain tract of territory in America.

Such were the instructions sent to lord Cornwallis. However, there was one proposition which was reserved to be directly made by lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto. That proposition was relative to Italy. "We see," said lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto, "that there is nothing to be got from the First Consul, so far as Piedmont is concerned. To ask any thing on that score would be desiring impossibilities. But let the First Consul concede to the king of Sardinia the smallest territorial indemnity, in whatever corner of Italy it may be, and, in exchange for that concession, we will instantly recognise all that France has done in that country. We will recognise the kingdom of Etruria, the Italian Republic, and the Ligurian Republic."

The changes demanded, whether by lord Cornwallis or by lord Hawkesbury, consisting rather in the form than in the groundwork were not much at variance either with the power or the pride of France. Peace was too fine a thing in itself not to accept it in the way proposed. But the First Consul unable to discover whether these new demands were merely a precaution of the English cabinet, with the intention of rendering the treaty more presentable to Parliament, or, whether in fact this backing out from points already conceded, accompanied with maritime armaments, concealed a secret intention of breaking off, acted, as he always did, by proceeding direct for the mark. He conceded what, as it seemed to him, ought to be conceded, and decidedly refused the remainder. Relative to the prisoners, he repelled the precise stipulation of a sum of money to be paid to England, but agreed to the formation of a commission which was to regulate the account of expenses, still considering German or other soldiers who had been in the English service as English pri-

soners. He insisted that Holland should not give a single florin to the stadtholder. He agreed to the nomination of a new Grand Master of Malta, but without any expression applicable to M. de Hompesch, or from which it might be inferred that France allowed the abandonment of those who had done her service to be imposed on her. He wished that the guarantee of Malta, proposed to Russia, should be asked also of Austria, Prussia, and Spain. In fine, without admitting a Turkish or Portuguese plenipotentiary, he consented to the insertion of an article in which the integrity of the Turkish territory, and that of the Portuguese territory, should be formally guaranteed.

As to the recognition of the Italian Republic, of the Ligurian Republic, and of the kingdom of Etruria, he declared that he would do without it, and that he would not purchase it by making any concession to the king of Piedmont, whose dominions he was resolved henceforth to keep definitively.

After having sent these answers to his brother Joseph, with a sufficient liberty of settling their form, he recommended him to act with great prudence, in order to have a proof that the refusal of signing the peace came not from him but from England. He caused it to be intimated, moreover, both in London and at Amiens, that if the English ministers were not willing to accept what he proposed, they ought to put an end to the matter, and that he would instantly re-arm the former flotilla at Boulogne, and form a camp opposite to the coast of England.

The rupture was not more desired in London than in Paris, or at Amiens. The English cabinet was sensible that it would be exposed to ridicule if the truce of six months, the consequence of the preliminaries, had served only to open the seas to the French fleets. Lord Cornwallis, who knew that the English legation would be unjustifiable, for it was that alone which had raised the last difficulties, was very conciliating in the terms of the treaty. Joseph Bonaparte was not less so, and in the evening of the 25th of March, 1802, (4th Germinal, year X.), the peace with Great Britain was signed, on an instrument overloaded with corrections of every sort.

Thirty-six hours were taken up in translating the treaty into as many languages as there were powers interested. On the 26th of March (6th Germinal), the plenipotentiaries assembled at the hôtel de ville. The First Consul had wished that every thing should be transacted with the greatest parade. Long before, he had sent off for Amiens a detachment of his finest troops, newly clothed; he had had the roads from Amiens to Calais, and from Amiens to Paris, repaired; and had sent relief to the labourers of the country out of work, that nothing might excite in the English negotiator an

unfavorable idea of France. He had given orders for preparations in the town of Amiens itself, in order that the signature should be given with a sort of solemnity. On the 27th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, detachments of cavalry went to the abodes of the plenipotentiaries, and escorted them to the hôtel de ville, where a hall had been prepared to receive them. It took them some time to look over the copies of the treaty, and, at length, about two o'clock, admittance was given to the authorities and the crowd, eager to be present at the imposing ceremony of the two first nations of the universe becoming reconciled, before the face of the world, becoming reconciled, alas! for how short a time! The two plenipotentiaries signed the peace, and then cordially embraced each other, amidst the acclamations of the bystanders, who, full of emotion, were transported with joy. Lord Cornwallis and Joseph Bonaparte were reconducted to their residences, amidst the most boisterous acclamations of the multitude. Lord Cornwallis heard blessings pronounced on his name by the French people, and Joseph went home, hearing on all sides the cry which was to be for a long time, and which might, by possibility, have been still, the cry of France, "*Vive Bonaparte!*"

Lord Cornwallis set out immediately for London, notwithstanding the invitation he had received to go to Paris. He feared that the facilities in the drawing up of the treaty to which he had lent himself might not be approved by his government, and he wished to secure the ratification of the treaty by his presence.

The successful issue of the congress at Amiens, if it did not excite among the English people the same transports of enthusiasm as the signing of the preliminaries, yet found them joyous and cheery. This time they were told that they were going to enjoy the reality of peace, provisions at a low price, and the abolition of the income-tax. They believed it, and showed themselves truly satisfied.

The effect was nearly the same on our side. Fewer external demonstrations, but not less internal satisfaction—such was the spectacle presented by the people of France. In fine, it was felt that the real peace, that of the seas, was obtained, as a certain and necessary condition of the continental peace. After ten years of the most violent, the most terrible, struggle that had ever been seen among men, they laid down arms: the temple of Janus was shut!

By whom had all this been accomplished? Who had rendered France so great and so prosperous—Europe so calm? One single man, by the might of his sword, and by the depth of his policy, France proclaimed this, and entire Europe re-echoed her proclamation. He has since conquered at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Friedland, at Wagram; he has conquered in a hun-

dred battles; has dazzled, startled, subdued the world; but never was he so great, for never was he so wise!"

All the bodies of the State, too, came anew to tell him, in harangues full of sincere enthusiasm, that he had been the conqueror, that now he was the benefactor of Europe. The young author of so much good, the possessor of so much glory, was far from thinking himself at the end of his task; he hardly enjoyed what he had done, so impatient was he to do more. Devoted at the time to the labours of peace, without being very sure that peace would be of long duration, he was anxious to complete what he called the organisation of France, and to reconcile what was true and good in the Revolution with what was useful and necessary to all times in the old monarchy. The matters he now had most at heart were the restoration of the Catholic religion, the organisation of public education, the recall of the emigrants, and the institution of the Legion of Honour. These were not the only things that he contemplated; but they were, according to him, the most urgent. Master, henceforth, of the opinions in the bodies of the State, he made use of the prerogatives of the Constitution to command an extraordinary session. He had returned on the 31st of January, 1802 (11th Pluviôse), from the *Consultum* held at Lyons; the treaty of Amiens had been signed on the 25th of March (4th Germinal); the promotions to the Legislative Body and to the Tribunate were finished several weeks before, and the newly-elected members had repaired to their posts: he convoked, therefore, an extraordinary session for the 5th of April (15th Germinal). It was to last to the 20th of May (30th Floreal), that is to say, one month and a half. This was sufficient for his plans, however great they might be; for the contradiction which he was henceforth liable to meet with, could not cause him the loss of much time.

The first of the projects submitted to the Legislative Body, was the Concordat. It was still the most difficult of the new projects to get adopted, if not by the popular masses, at least by the men, civil and military, who surrounded the government. The Holy See, which had been so slow in conceding, at one time, the very principle of the Concordat, at another time, the bull regarding the new bishoprics, at another, the faculty of instituting the new bishops, had long ago sent all to cardinal Caprara, that he might be prepared to exhibit the powers of the Holy See, whenever the First Consul should think it opportune. The First Consul had thought, and justly too, that the proclamation of the definitive peace was the moment, when, under favour of the public joy, the spectacle of the republican government prostrated at the foot of the altars, and thanking God for the benefits

that it had received from Him, might be exhibited for the first time.

He prepared every thing, therefore, for dedicating Easter Sunday to the performance of this great solemnity. But the fifteen days preceding this grand ceremony were neither the least critical nor the least laborious. It was necessary, in the first place, besides the treaty called the Concordat, and which, by the name of treaty, was to be voted by the Legislative Body, it was necessary to draw up and present a law, which should regulate the police of worship, agreeably to the principles of the Concordat and of the Gallican church. It was necessary to appoint the new clergy destined to replace the former bishops, whose resignation had been demanded by the Pope, and almost universally obtained. There were sixty sees to be filled up at once, by selecting, from priests of all parties, respectable subjects; taking care not to give offence to religious sentiments by those selections, or to rekindle schism through excess of the same zeal that was used for its extinction.

These were difficulties which the tenacity, enveloped in mildness, of cardinal Caprara, and which the passions of the clergy, as great as those of other men, rendered very serious and even disquieting, up to the last instant, up to the very eve of the day on which the grand act of the re-establishment of the altars was consummated.

The First Consul began with the law destined to regulate the police of worship. It is that which in our Codes bears the title of Organic Articles. It was very voluminous, and regulated the relations of government with all religions, whether Catholic, Protestant, or Hebrew. It rested on the principle of religious liberty, granting to all religions security and protection, imposing on them mutual respect and toleration towards each other, with submission to the government. As to the Catholic religion, that which embraces almost the whole of the population of our country, it was regulated after the principles of the Roman church, consecrated in the Concordat, and the principles of the Gallican church, proclaimed by Bossuet. First of all, it was established that no bull, brief, or writing whatsoever of the Holy See, could be published in France without the authority of government; that no delegate from Rome, excepting him whom she sent publicly as her official representative, should be admitted, recognised, or tolerated; which cleared the country of those secret mandatories whom the Holy See employed to govern the French church clandestinely during the Revolution. Every infraction whatsoever of the rules resulting, whether from treaties with the Holy See, or from the French laws, committed by a member of the clergy, was styled an *abuse*, and referred to the jurisdiction of the Council of State, a poli-

tical and administrative body, animated by the true spirit of government, and which could not feel for the clergy the old hatred which the magistracy had vowed against it under the ancient monarchy. No council, general or particular, could be held in France without a formal permission from the government. There was to be one catechism alone, approved by public authority. Every ecclesiastic devoted to the instruction of the clergy, was to profess the declaration of 1682, known by the title of *Propositions de Bossuet.* These propositions, as every body knows, contain those beautiful principles of submission and independence which particularly characterise the Gallican church: she, ever submissive to Catholic unity, has made it triumphant in France, and has defended it in Europe; but, independent in her internal government, and faithful to her sovereign, she has never ended in Protestantism, like the churches of England or of Germany, or in the Inquisition, like the church of Spain. Submission to the head of the universal Church in spirituals, submission to the head of the State in temporals, such is the double principle on which the First Consul wished that the French Church should remain established. Wherefore, he exacted formally that the clergy should be instructed in the propositions of Bossuet. It was settled, of course, in the organic articles, that the bishops nominated by the First Consul, and instituted by the Pope, should select the curés, but, before they installed them, they should be obliged to submit them to the approval of government. Permission was granted to the bishops to form chapters of canons in the cathedrals and seminaries of the dioceses. All the appointments of professors in these seminaries were to be approved of by the public authorities. No pupil of these seminaries could be ordained priest before the age of twenty-five, unless he brought forward proof of his having property to the amount of 300 francs annual income (12*l.*), unless he were approved of by the administration of worship. This condition of property it was found impossible to carry out;* but it would have been desirable had it been practicable, for the spirit of the clergy would have sunk less than we have seen it do since. The archbishops were to receive a salary of 15,000 francs (600*l.*), the bishops 10,000 francs (400*l.*) First class curés were to receive 1500 francs (60*l.*) those of the second 1000 francs (40*l.*), but without the addition of ecclesiastical pensions, which many priests enjoyed in compensation for alienated ecclesiastical property. The fees, that is to say the voluntary contributions of the faithful for the administration of certain sacraments, were reserved, on condition of a regulation to be made by the bishops. For the rest, it was stipulated that all the consolations of religion should be

* It was not abolished till February, 1810.

administered gratuitously. The churches were restored to the new clergy. The presbyteries and the gardens belonging to them, or what is called among the rural population the *curés' houses*, were to be the only portions of former church property restored to the priests; on the understanding that this did not form a precedent in regard to the church property which had been sold. The use of bells was re-established for calling the faithful to church; but with a prohibition of their being used for any civil use, unless by permission from the proper authority. The sinister remembrance of the tocsin had caused the adoption of this precaution. No holiday, except Sunday, could be established, unless authorised by government. Worship was not to be performed externally, that is, outside the temples, in towns where temples existed belonging to different religions. Finally, the Gregorian calendar was made partly to correspond with the calendar of the Republic. This was certainly the most serious of the difficulties. The calendar which recalled more than any other institution the memory of the Revolution, and which had been adapted to the new system of weights and measures, could not be abolished. But neither was it possible to re-establish the Catholic religion without re-establishing the Sunday, and with the Sunday the week. In other respects morals had already done what the law had not yet dared to do, and the Sunday was become again a religious holiday, more or less observed, but universally admitted as an interruption of the labour of the week. The First Consul adopted a middle term. He decided that the year and the month should be named as in the Republican calendar, and the day and the week as in the Gregorian calendar; one should say for instance, for Easter day, Sunday 28th, Germinal, year X., which corresponded with the 18th of April, 1802. Lastly, he required, that no person should be married in church without the previous production of the act of civil marriage; and, as to the registries of births, deaths, and marriages, which the priests had continued to keep from habit, he caused it to be declared, that these registries should never be of any value in courts of justice. Finally, every testamentary, or other donation made to the clergy was to be constituted into a general fund.

Such is in substance the wise and profound law which bears the name of *Organic articles*. It was for the French government quite an internal act, which regarded itself alone, and which by that title was not to be submitted to the Holy See. It sufficed that it contained nothing contrary to the Concordat, so that the court of Rome might have no reasonable ground of complaint. To submit it to her was to prepare interminable difficulties, difficulties greater, more numerous than those which the Concordat itself had met with. The First Consul took care not to expose himself to this. He knew that when once religion was publicly established, the Holy See would not

break the new peace entered into between France and Rome, for articles which concerned the internal police of the Republic. It is true that, at a later period, these articles became one of the causes of complaint against Napoleon, but they were a pretext rather than a real grievance. They had been, besides, communicated to cardinal Caprara, who did not appear at all shocked at reading them,* if we are to judge of him by what he wrote to his court. He made some reservations, and advised the holy father not to be grieved at them, hoping, he said, that these articles would not be executed rigorously.

The law of the Organic Articles having been drawn up and discussed in the Council of State, it became necessary to direct attention to the clerical appointments. This was a considerable labour, for there was a multitude of selections to be examined closely before deciding on them definitively. M. Portalis, whom the First Consul had charged with the administration of religion, and who was eminently fit either to treat with the clergy, or to represent them in the bodies of the State, and to defend them with an eloquence which was mild, brilliant, and tempered with a certain religious unction; M. Portalis usually resisted the Holy See with respectful firmness. On this occasion he had become in some measure the ally of cardinal Caprara, in a pretension of the court of Rome; namely, that of completely excluding the constitutional clergy from the new sees. The Pope, still affected by an act so exorbitant in his eyes as the deposition of the former bishops, wished, at least, to indemnify himself for it by keeping out of the episcopacy the ministers of religion who had formed a compact with the French Revolution, and taken an oath to the civil Constitution. Since the signing of the Concordat, that is to say, about eight or nine months, cardinal Caprara, who was filling, incognito, the office of legate *à latere*, and who saw the First Consul every day, insinuated to him mildly, but with firmness, the desires of the Romish Church, advancing more boldly when the Consul was in a humour to let him speak, retiring precipitately and with humility when he was of a contrary humour. These desires of the Romish Church did not consist solely in excluding from the composition of the new order of French clergy the priests whom she called *intruders*, but to recover the lost provinces, Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. "The holy father," said the cardinal, "is very poor since he has been stripped of these his most fertile provinces; he is so poor that he is unable to pay troops to guard him, or to pay the administration of his States or the Sacred College. He has lost even part of his foreign revenues. In the midst of his grievances, the re-establishment

* These assertions are founded on the correspondence itself of cardinal Caprara.

of religion in France is the greatest of his consolations; but do not mingle bitterness with this balm, by obliging him to institute priests who have apostatised—by depriving the faithful clergy of the places already so much reduced by the new limitation." "Yes," replied the First Consul, "the holy father is poor; I will assist him. All the boundaries of the States in Italy are not irrevocably fixed; those of Europe itself are not definitively agreed on. But I cannot now take away provinces from the Italian Republic, which has just chosen me for its chief. Meanwhile, the holy father is in want of more money than he has. He requires some millions, and I am ready to give them to him. As to the intruders," added he, "that is another affair. The Pope has promised, when once the resignations were sent in, to reconcile with the Church, without any distinction, all those who should submit to the Concordat. This he has promised, and he must keep his word; I shall remind him of it, and he is neither a man nor a pontiff if he fail in it. Besides, my mission is not to make one party or another triumph; my mission is to reconcile them one to the other by holding the balance equally between them. For some time past, you have compelled me to read the history of the Church. I have there seen that religious quarrels occur in no wise differently from political ones; for you priests, and we soldiers, or magistrates, we are all of us men. They end only by the intervention of an authority strong enough to oblige the parties to be reconciled to each other and to amalgamate. I will, therefore, mix some constitutional bishops with the bishops that you call faithful; I will choose them well; I will choose few, but there shall be some of them. You will reconcile them with the Roman Church; I will compel them to be obedient to the Concordat, and all will go well. However, it is a thing resolved on—don't return to it again." The Great Consul, as the cardinal used to call him, if pressed, took fire immediately; and the cardinal desisted, for he equally admired, loved, and feared him, and said to the holy father, "Let us not irritate this man! He alone sustains us in this country, where every one is against us; for if, unfortunately, he were to die, there would be no longer a religion in France." The cardinal, though he had not succeeded, tried, nevertheless, to appear satisfied; for general Bonaparte loved to see people content, and was vexed when any one appeared before him with a doleful look. The cardinal then showed himself always mild and serene, and by this means had found out the art of pleasing him. He saw, besides, the troubles that annoyed general Bonaparte, and he did not wish to add to them. The general, in his turn, tried to explain to the cardinal the susceptibilities, the jealousies of the French mind; and, notwithstanding his power, he made as many efforts to convince him as the cardinal could make on his side to bring

him to his views. One day, impatient at the entreaties of the legate, he imposed silence on him by these words, at once gracious and profound. "Hold!" said he, "cardinal Caprara, do you still possess the power of working miracles? Do you possess it? If you do, employ it, for you will render me a great service. If you have it not, leave me to myself; and, since I am reduced to human means, permit me to make use of them as I know how, to save the Church."

A curious and striking picture, preserved entire in the correspondence of cardinal Caprara, is that of this powerful warrior displaying by turns, a finesse, a grace, an extraordinary vehemence, to persuade the old cardinal, theologian, and diplomatist. Both were thus arrived at the moment of the publication of the Concordat, without either having been able to convince the other. M. de Portalis, who on this point only, was of the opinion of the Holy See, dared not, as he wished to do at first, completely exclude the constitutionalists from his propositions for the filling of the sixty sees, but he presented only two of them. Having had an understanding with the abbé Bernier for the selections to be made among the orthodox clergy, he had proposed the most eminent and wisest members of the old episcopacy, and estimable curés, in sufficient number, distinguished by their piety, their moderation, and the continuance of their services during the Reign of Terror. He said, with abbé Bernier, that, to call no member of the ancient episcopacy, and to point out none but curés, would be creating a clergy too new, too unprovided with authority; that, on the contrary, to nominate former bishops alone to all the sees, would be too great a forgetfulness of the inferior clergy, who had rendered real services during the Revolution, and whose just ambition would thus be grievously offended. These views were reasonable and were admitted by the First Consul. But, as to the two constitutional prelates, he was not at all content with them.

"Of sixty sees," said he, "I mean to give one-fifth to the clergy of the Revolution, that is to say, twelve. There shall be two constitutional archbishops to ten, and ten constitutional bishops to fifty, which is not too much." After having concerted with Messrs. Portalis and Bernier, he made, with them, the best conceived selections, excepting one or two. M. de Belloy, bishop of Marseilles, the most respectable, the most aged of the members of the ancient church of France, the worthy minister of a religion of charity, who joined a venerable countenance to the sagest piety, was nominated archbishop of Paris. M. de Cicé, formerly keeper of the seals under Louis XVI., and archbishop of Bordeaux, a man of firm political mind, was promoted to the archbishopric of Aix. M. de Boisgelin, a man of high birth, an enlightened

priest, well informed and mild, formerly archbishop of Aix, became archbishop of Tours. M. de la Tour du Pin, formerly archbishop of Auch, received the bishopric of Troyes. This worthy prelate, illustrious by his knowledge as much as by his birth, had the modesty to accept that post, so inferior to the one which he resigned. The First Consul rewarded him for it, at a later period, with the cardinal's hat. M. de Roquelaure, formerly bishop of Senlis, one of the most distinguished prelates of the ancient church, by the union of amenity of manners and good morals, obtained the archbishopric of Malines. M. Cambacérès, brother of the second consul, was called to the archbishopric of Rouen. L'abbé Fesch, uncle of the First Consul, a proud priest, who made it his glory to resist his nephew, was created archbishop of Lyons, that is to say, primate of the Gauls. M. Lecoz, constitutional bishop of Rennes, a priest of good morals, but an ardent and unaccommodating Jansenist, was nominated archbishop of Besançon. M. Primat, constitutional bishop of Lyons, formerly an Oratorian, a well-informed and mild priest, having occasioned sad scandal with regard to the schism, but none with regard to morals, was promoted to the archbishopric of Toulouse. A distinguished curé, M. de Pancemont, who had been much employed in the affair of the resignations, was taken from the parish of St. Sulpice, to be sent to Vannes as bishop. Lastly, the abbé Bernier, the celebrated curé of Saint-Laud d'Angers, formerly the concealed plotter in La Vendée, afterwards its pacificator, and under the First Consul, the negotiator of the Concordat, received the bishopric of Orleans. This see was not commensurate with the high influence which the First Consul had allowed him over the affairs of the church of France; but the abbé Bernier felt that the recollections of a civil war attached to his name, did not permit too marked or too sudden an elevation; that the real power which he enjoyed was of more value than external honours. Besides, the First Consul had in view for him a cardinal's hat.

When these nominations, which were decided on, but which were not to be published until after the conversion of the Concordat into the law of the State, were communicated to cardinal Caprara, the latter opposed a strong resistance to them; he even shed tears, saying that he was unprovided with powers, although he had received from Rome an arbitrary latitude, extending to the extraordinary faculty of instituting prelates, without recourse to the Holy See. Messrs. Portalis and Bernier declared to him that the will of the First Consul was irrevocable; that he should submit, or renounce the solemn restoration of the altars, which was to take place within a few days. He did submit, writing to the Pope, that the salvation of souls who would be deprived of religion, if he

had persisted, had gained the victory, in his mind, over the interest of the faithful clergy. "I shall be blamed," said he, to the holy father, "but I have obeyed what I believed to be the voice of Heaven."

He consented, therefore, reserving to himself the right to exact from the newly-elected constitutionalists, a recantation, which might cover this last condescension of the Holy See.

Every thing being ready, the First Consul caused the Concordat to be carried up to the Legislative Body, there to be voted into a law, as prescribed by the Constitution. To the Concordat were joined the Organic Articles. It was on the first day of the extraordinary session, 5th of April, 1802 (15th Germinal), that the Concordat was presented to the Legislative Body by the councillors of State, Portalis, Régnier, and Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angely. The Legislative Body was not sitting when the treaty of Amiens, signed the 25th of March, became known in Paris. It had not, therefore, been among the authorities, which had come forward to congratulate the First Consul. On this first sitting, it was proposed to send a deputation of twenty-five members, to compliment the First Consul on the occasion of the general peace. In this proposition there was not a word said of the Concordat, which shows the spirit of the time, even in the heart of the renewed Legislative Body. The deputation was presented the 6th of April, 1802 (16th Germinal).

"Citizen Consul," said the president of the Legislative Body, "the first craving of the French people, when attacked by Europe, was for victory, and you have conquered. Its dearest aspiration, after victory, was for peace, and peace you have given to it. What glory for the past! what hope for the future! And all this is your work! Enjoy the lustre and the happiness which the Republic owes you!" The president concluded this address with the most lively expression of the national gratitude; but he was absolutely dumb on the subject of the Concordat. The First Consul took the opportunity to give him, on this subject, a sort of lesson, and to speak of nothing but the Concordat, to people who spoke only of the peace of Amiens. "I thank you," said he, to the messengers of the Legislative Body, "for the sentiments that you express to me. Your session begins with the most important operation of all, that which has for its object the appeasing of religious quarrels. All France solicits an end to these deplorable quarrels, and the re-establishment of the altars. I hope that, in your vote, like her, you will be of one mind. France will see, with a lively joy, that her legislators have voted the peace of consciences, the peace of families, a hundred times more important for the happiness of a people than that peace on occasion of which you come to congratulate the government."

These noble expressions produced the effect which the First Consul expected from them. The project, carried immediately from the Legislative Body to the Tribunate, was examined there gravely, even favourably, and discussed without vehemence. On the report of M. Siméon, it was carried by seventy-eight votes against seven. In the Legislative Body 228 voices pronounced for and twenty-eight against it.

On the 8th of April (18th Germinal) the two projects were converted into laws. There was no further obstacle. It was the Thursday preceding Palm Sunday; the following Sunday would be Easter Day. The First Consul wished to consecrate these solemn days of the Catholic religion to the great festival of the re-establishment of public worship. He had not yet received cardinal Caprara officially, as legate from the Holy See. He appointed the following day, Friday, for this official reception. The usage with legates *à latere*, is to have the gold cross carried before them. It is a sign of the extraordinary powers which the Holy See delegates to its representatives of this rank. Cardinal Caprara wishing, conformably with the views of his court, that the exercise of religion might be as public and as pompous as possible in France, desired that, according to custom, on the day on which he was to go to the Tuileries, the gold cross should be carried before him, by an officer dressed in red, and on horseback. Some hesitation was felt to exhibit such a spectacle to the populace of Paris. Negotiations took place, and it was settled that this cross should be borne in one of the carriages which were to precede that of the legate.

On Friday, the 9th of April (19th Germinal), the cardinal legate repaired in pomp to the Tuileries, in the equipages of the First Consul, escorted by the consular guard, and preceded by the cross borne in one of the carriages. The First Consul received him at the head of a numerous train, composed of his colleagues, of several councillors of State, and of a brilliant staff. Cardinal Caprara, whose exterior was mild and grave, addressed to the First Consul a discourse, in which dignity was blended with the expression of gratitude. He took the oath agreed upon, to do nothing against the laws of the State, and to vacate his functions as soon as he should be required to do so. The First Consul replied to him in elevated terms—terms destined, above all, to resound elsewhere than in the palace of the Tuileries.

This external manifestation was the first of all those which were in preparation, and was not much remarked, because the people of Paris, not having notice of it, had not the opportunity of yielding to their ordinary curiosity. The next day but one, was to be Palm Sunday. The First Consul had already reconciled the cardinal to some of the

principal prelates whose nomination was decided on. He wished that their consecration should take place on this Palm Sunday, in order that they might be able to officiate the following Sunday, Easter Day, in the grand solemnity which he had projected. They were Messrs. de Belloy, nominated archbishop of Paris; de Cambacérès, archbishop of Rouen; Bernier, bishop of Orleans; de Pancemont, bishop of Vannes. The church of Notre Dame was still occupied by the constitutionalists, who kept the keys of it. A formal order was necessary to oblige them to give them up. That beautiful temple was found in a state of sad ruin; nothing there was in readiness for the consecration of the four prelates. This defect was provided for by means of a sum of money furnished by the First Consul; and so great was the precipitation, that, when the day of the ceremony came, no place had been fitted up for a sacristy. An adjoining house was employed for that purpose. The new prelates there invested themselves in their pontifical ornaments, and in that dress crossed the open space in front of the cathedral. The people, having notice that a grand ceremony was in preparation, had hurried thither, and behaved calmly and respectfully. The face of the venerable archbishop de Belloy was so noble and so handsome, that it affected the simple hearts of which that crowd was composed; and all, men and women, bowed respectfully. The church was full of that numerous class of Christians, who had mourned for the misfortunes of religion, and who, belonging to no faction, received with gratitude the boon which the First Consul was conferring on them that day. The ceremony was affecting, even in default of pomp, through the sentiment which was brought to it. The four prelates were consecrated after the usual form.

From that moment, it must be said, the satisfaction was general amongst the many; there was a certainty of public approbation for the great manifestation fixed for the following Sunday. Excepting party men, revolutionists, obstinate in their systems, or factious royalists, who saw with chagrin the lever of revolt slipping from their clutch, every one approved of what was going on, and the First Consul was able to recognise already that his views had been more just than those of his advisers.

On the following Sunday, Easter Day, a solemn *Te Deum* was to be sung for the celebration, at the same time, of the general peace and the reconciliation with the Church. This ceremony was announced by public authority as a genuine national festival. The preparations and the programme of it were published. The First Consul wished to proceed thither in grand *cortège*, accompanied by all that was most elevated in the State. Through the ladies of the palace

he had it conveyed to the wives of the high officials, that they would satisfy one of his most ardent desires if they attended the metropolitan church on the day of the *Te Deum*. The greater number did not require pressing. It is known what frivolous motives are joined to motives the most pious, to increase the concourse in these ceremonies of religion. The most brilliant women in Paris obeyed the First Consul. The principal ladies amongst them were to assemble at the Tuileries, to accompany Madame Bonaparte in the equipages of the new court.

The First Consul had given a formal order to his generals to accompany him. These were the most difficult to be gained over; for, it was said everywhere, that they held unbecoming and almost factious language. We have already seen the waywardness of Lannes. Augereau, tolerated at Paris, was actually one of those who spoke loudest. He was commissioned by his comrades to present himself to the First Consul, and to express to him their desire not to appear at Notre Dame. In consular sitting, in the presence of the three consuls, and of the ministers, was the audience to be given, in which general Bonaparte was pleased to receive Augereau. The latter delivered his message; but the First Consul recalled him to his duty with that *hauteur* that he knew how to assume in command, particularly with regard to military men. He made him sensible of the impropriety of his conduct, reminded him that the Concordat was now the law of the State; that the laws were obligatory for all classes of citizens, as well for the army as for the humblest and weakest of the people; that, moreover, he would take care, in his double capacity of general and chief magistrate of the Republic, to see them executed; that it was not for the officers of the army, but for the government, to judge of the suitableness of the ceremonies ordered for Easter Day; that all the authorities had orders to attend at them, the military as well as the civil authorities, and all should obey; that, as to the dignity of the army, he was as jealous of it, and as good a judge of it, as any of the generals his companions in arms; and that he was sure of not compromising it by assisting in person at the ceremonies of religion; that, to put an end to the matter, they had not to deliberate on, but to execute, an order, and that he expected to see them all on Sunday at his side, in the metropolitan church. Augereau made no reply, and brought back to his comrades only the embarrassment of having committed an indiscretion, and the resolution to obey.

Every thing was ready, but, at the last moment, the second thoughts of cardinal Caprara were nigh frustrating the noble plans of the First Consul. The bishops selected from the constitutional clergy had gone to cardinal Caprara's for the *proces informatif*, which is drawn up in regard to every bishop

presented to the Holy See. The cardinal had required of them a recantation, by which they were to abjure their former errors, and which characterised in the most condemnatory manner their adhesion to the civil constitution of the clergy. It was a humiliating step not only for them, but for the Revolution itself. When the First Consul was informed of it he would not allow it, and enjoined them not to yield, promising to support them, and to force the representative of the Holy See to renounce his unchristianlike intentions. Cardinal Caprara had seen no other excuse for his condescension, if he instituted what were called *intruders*, than in a formal recantation of their past conduct. But the First Consul did not understand it in that shape. "When I accept for bishop," said he, "the abbé Bernier, the apostle of La Vendée, the Pope may well be satisfied with Jansenists or Oratorians, who have had no other fault than that of adhering to the Revolution." He directed them to confine themselves to a simple declaration, which consisted in saying, that they adhered to the Concordat, and the wishes of the Holy See, written in that treaty. He insisted, with reason, that, as the Concordat contained the principles on which the French Church and the Roman Church had agreed, more could not be exacted, without an avowed intention of humiliating one party for the benefit of another, and he declared that he would not permit it.

Saturday evening, Easter-eve, this contest was not over. M. de Portalis was charged to go and announce to the cardinal that the ceremony of the next day should not take place, that the Concordat should not be published, and should remain without effect if he insisted any longer on the recantation demanded. This resolution was over and above serious, and the First Consul, in showing himself full of condescension for the Church, would not, however, yield on the points which seemed to him to compromise the object itself, that is to say, the amalgamation of parties. He knew that to be a conciliator it is necessary to be energetic, for it costs nearly as much trouble to bring parties to a compromise as it does to conquer them.

The cardinal at length yielded, but at a very advanced hour of the night. It was agreed that the newly-elected prelates, taken from among the constitutional clergy, should go through at his house the *proces informatif*, and that they should profess, *viva voce*, their sincere union to the Church, and that, as a consequence, a declaration should be made that they and the Church were reconciled, without saying how, or in what terms. Still, it is a fact, that the recantation demanded was not made.

The day afterwards, Easter day, 18th of April 1802 (28th Germinal, year X.), the Concordat was published in all quarters of Paris with great show, and by the principal authorities. Whilst this publication was taking place in the streets of the capital, the First Consul, who wished to solemnise on the same day every thing that was for the good of France, was exchanging the

ratifications of the peace of Amiens. This important formality having been accomplished, he set out for Notre Dame, followed by the chief bodies of the State, and by a great number of functionaries of every class, by a brilliant staff, and by a crowd of ladies of the highest rank, who accompanied Madame Bonaparte. A long suite of carriages composed this magnificent *cortège*. The troops of the first military division, assembled at Paris, formed a line from the Tuileries to the cathedral. The archbishop of Paris advanced in procession to receive the First Consul at the porch of the church, and to present the holy water to him. The new head of the State was conducted under the canopy to the place reserved for him. The Senate, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, were ranged on each side of the altar. Behind the First Consul were found standing the generals in full uniform, rather obedient than converted, some affecting a demeanour by no means becoming. As to himself, habited in the red dress of the consuls, motionless, with a stern countenance, he displayed neither the distraction of some nor the devoutness of others. He was calm, grave, in the attitude of a chief of empire, who is performing a grand act of will, and who commands by his look submission from all the world.

The ceremony was long and dignified, in spite of the bad disposition of most of those whom it had been necessary to bring thither. For the rest, the effect of it was destined to be decisive, for, the example once given by the most imposing of men, all the ancient religious habits were about to revive and all resistance to subside.

There were two motives for this *fête*, to wit, the re-establishment of worship and the general peace. Naturally the satisfaction was general, and whosoever had not in his heart the bad passions of party was happy in the public welfare. On that day there were grand dinners at the ministers, attended by the principal members of the administrations. The representatives of the powers were guests of the minister for foreign affairs. There was a brilliant banquet at the First Consul's, to which were invited the cardinal Caprara, the archbishop of Paris, the principal bishops elect of the new clergy, the highest personages of the State. The First Consul discoursed long with the cardinal; he testified to him his joy at having achieved so great a work. He was proud of his courage and his success. One light shade crossed his noble brow, and that scarcely for an instant, it was when he cast a glance at certain of his generals, whose attitude and language had not been becoming in this conjuncture. He expressed to them his discontent with a firmness of tone which admitted of no reply, and which left no fear of a relapse.

To complete the effect which the First Consul had wished to produce on that same day, M. de Fontanes gave an account

in the *Moniteur* of a new book which was making a great noise at the time; it was the *Genie du Christianisme.* This book, written by a young Breton gentleman, M. de Chateaubriand, related to the Malesherbes, and long absent from his country, described with infinite brilliancy the beauties of Christianity, and extolled the moral and poetical influence of religious practices, which had been exposed twenty years before to the most bitter railleries. Severely criticised by Messrs. Chénier and Ginguené, who reproached it with false and overcharged colours, passionately supported by the partisans of religious restoration, the *Genie du Christianisme,* like all remarkable books, very much praised, very much attacked, produced a profound impression, because it expressed a true sentiment, very generally felt at the time in French society; it was that peculiar indefinable regret for what exists no longer, for what one has disdained or destroyed when possessed of it, for what one sadly desires when it is lost. Such is the human heart! What exists fatigues or oppresses it; what has ceased to exist acquires, all at once, a potent charm. The social and religious customs of a former period, odious and ridiculous in 1789, because they were then in all their force, and, moreover, were often oppressive; now that the eighteenth century, changed towards its close into an impetuous torrent, had swept them away in its devastating course, now, these customs returned to the recollection of an agitated generation, and touched its heart, disposed to emotions by the tragic spectacle of fifteen years. The work of the young writer, impressed with this profound sentiment, stirred up men's minds strongly, and had been welcomed with marked favour by the man who was then dispensing all glories. If it did not exhibit the pure taste, the simple and solid faith of the writers of the age of Louis XIV., it painted in charming colours the old religious manners which were no more. Without doubt, one might censure in it the misuse of a fine imagination, but after Virgil, after Horace, there has remained in the memory of mankind, a place for the ingenious Ovid, for the brilliant Lucan, and alone, perhaps, among the books of its day, the *Genie du Christianisme* will live, strongly linked as it is to a memorable epoch; it will live, as those friezes sculptured on the marble of a building live with the monument which bears them.

In recalling the priests to the altar, in withdrawing them from the dark retreats, where they practised their religion, and often conspired against the government, the First Consul had repaired one of the most vexatious disorders of the time, and had satisfied one of the greatest moral wants of every society. But there remained another extremely sad disorder, one which left to France the aspect of a country torn by factions; it

was the exile of a considerable number of Frenchmen, living in foreign lands in indigence, sometimes in hatred of their country, and receiving from hostile governments a mouthful of bread, which many of them paid for by unworthy acts towards France. A frightful invention of discord is exile; it renders the banished man wretched, it denaturalises his heart, leaves him to the alms doled out by a stranger; it parades afar the afflicting exhibition of the troubles of the land. Of all the traces of a revolution it is that which should be the first effaced. General Bonaparte considered the recall of the emigrants as the indispensable completion of the general pacification. It was a reparatory act of which he was impatient to brave the difficulties, and to have the glory. Already there existed for emigrants a system of recall very incomplete, very partial, very irregular, which had all the inconveniences of a general measure, and which had not its high and beneficent character; it was the system of erasures, which were granted to the best recommended emigrants, under pretext that they had been unduly placed on the lists. Such amnesty was not always given to the most excusable or the most deserving.

The First Consul then formed the resolution of permitting the return of the emigrants *en masse*, with certain exceptions. Grave objections were made against this measure. At first, all the constitutions, particularly the Consular Constitution, said expressly, that the emigrants were never to be recalled. They said so, particularly on account of those who had acquired national domains, who were very suspicious, and who looked on the exile of the former possessors of their property as necessary for their safety. The First Consul, considering himself as the firmest support of those holders, having always expressed the firm will to defend them, the only mortal having the power to do so, believed himself sufficiently strong in the confidence he had inspired in them all, to be able to open the gates of France to the emigrants. He then caused a resolution to be prepared, the first clause of which was, the new and irrevocable consecration of the sales made by the State to the holders of national property. He next had inserted in it a provision by which all emigrants were recalled *en masse*, placing them under the surveillance of the high police, and submitting to this surveillance, for the whole of their lives, those who should have, at any time, provoked the application of it. There were yet some exceptions to this general recall. The benefit of it was refused to the chiefs of the troops raised against the Republic; to those who had held rank in the armies of the enemy; to individuals who had continued to hold places or titles in the house of the princes of Bourbon; to the generals or representatives of the

people, who had made compacts with the enemy (this concerned Pichegru, and some members of the legislative assemblies); finally, to the bishops and archbishops who had refused their resignation demanded by the Pope. The number of these excluded persons was very inconsiderable.

The most difficult question to be solved was that which arose on the subject of the property of the emigrants not yet sold. If, with all reason, the sales made by the State should be declared inviolable, still it might appear hard not to make restitution of their property to the emigrants, when it remained untouched in the hands of government. "I do nothing," said the First Consul, "if I restore these emigrants to their country, without restoring to them their patrimony. I wish to efface the traces of our civil wars; and, by filling France with returned emigrants, who will remain in indigence, whilst their properties shall be thus under the sequestration of the State, I create a class of malecontents who will give no rest. And, these properties kept under the sequestration of the State, who, think you, will purchase them, in the presence of their ancient owners now returned?" The First Consul then resolved to restore all the unsold domains, excepting houses or buildings appropriated to the public service.

This resolution thus drawn up was submitted to a privy council, composed of the Consuls, of the ministers, of a certain number of councillors of State, and of senators. It was warmly discussed in this assembly, and appeared to excite sharp jealousies. However, the general impulse towards all reparatory measures which tended to efface the traces of our troubles, the *prestige* of the general peace, the positive will of the First Consul, all these causes combined led to the adoption of the principle of the measure. But care was taken to insert in the resolution the word amnesty, to fix upon emigration the character of a criminal act which the victorious and happy nation was willing enough to forget. The First Consul, desiring to do things in a complete manner, repelled the employment of the word amnesty. He said that it was not right to humble persons whose reconciliation with France they were endeavouring to bring about, and that to treat them as pardoned criminals was to humble them deeply. He was told in reply, that emigration had originally been a crime, for it had for its principal object to make war on France, and that it was necessary that it should remain condemned by the laws. A warm dispute took place relative to the property of the emigrants. The councillors called to the deliberation, obstinately refused the restitution of woods and forests, which the law of the 2nd Nivôse, year IV., had declared inalienable. It was, in their opinion, replacing

immense riches in the hands of the great emigration, depriving the State of prodigious resources, and, above all, of forests of indispensable utility for the service of the army and navy. Notwithstanding all his efforts, the First Consul was obliged to yield, and he thus preserved, without dreaming of it, one of the most powerful means of influence over the ancient French nobility, that which afterwards served to bring them back to him almost entirely: this means was the individual restitution which he made at a later period of their properties, to those of the emigrants who submitted to his government.

The resolution being thus modified, it remained to be settled how a legal character was to be given to it. It was not the intention to make it into a law; it was designed to give it a more elevated character, if it were possible. The idea was conceived of making an organic *Senatus-Consultum* of it. The resolution touched the Constitution itself, and, in that way, seemed to belong more particularly to the Senate. Already the Senate, by two important acts, that which had proscribed the Jacobins, falsely accused on account of the infernal machine, and that which had interpreted the thirty-eighth article of the Constitution, and excluded the oppositionists of the two legislative assemblies, had acquired a sort of power superior to the Constitution itself; for it had legitimatised either extraordinary measures, or new constitutional arrangements, which the government had thought needful. After having performed rigorous acts, it could not but be agreeable to the Senate to be intrusted with an act of national clemency. It was then decreed that the resolution pronouncing the recall of the emigrants should be first discussed in the Council of State, as were the standing orders, laws, *Senatus-consulta*, and next be submitted to the Senate, there to be deliberated on, as a measure touching the Constitution itself.

The thing was thus executed. The project of amnesty discussed in the Council of State, on the 16th of April (26th Germinal), two days before the publication of the Concordat, was carried ten days afterwards to the Senate, on the 26th of April, 1802 (6th Floréal). It was there adopted without controversy, and with remarkable motives.

"Considering," said the Senate, "that the proposed measure is called for by the actual state of things, by justice, by the national interest, and that it is in conformity with the spirit of the Constitution;

"Considering that, at different epochs, when the laws relative to emigration were enacted, France, torn by intestine divisions, sustained against almost all Europe a war, for which history presents no parallel, and which necessitated rigorous and extraordinary arrangements;

"That at the present day, peace being made abroad, it is

important to cement it at home, by every thing which can rally Frenchmen, tranquillise families, and cause evils inseparable from a long revolution to be forgotten;

"That nothing can better consolidate peace at home, than a measure which tempers the severity of the laws, and puts an end to the uncertainties and delays resulting from the forms established for the erasures;

"Considering that this measure can only be an amnesty, which may extend pardon to the greater number, always more misled than criminal, and that may extend punishment to the principal culprits by permanently keeping them on the list of emigrants;

"That this amnesty, devised by clemency, is, however, granted only on conditions just in themselves, tranquillising for the public safety, and wisely combined with the national welfare;

"That particular provisions of the amnesty, by defending from all attack the acts done with the Republic, consecrate anew the guarantee of the sales of national property, the upholding of which will always be a particular object of the solicitude of the Conservative Senate, as it is of the Consuls: the Senate adopts the proposed resolution."

This courageous act of clemency could not but obtain the approbation of all wise men who sincerely wished for an end to our civil broils. Thanks to the new guarantees given to the holders of national property, thanks to the confidence which the First Consul inspired them with, this last measure of government did not cause them too great disquietude, and it satisfied that honest, and luckily the most numerous, mass, of the royalist party, which received without murmur the good that was conferred on it. It met with ingratitude only among the highest class of emigrants, who were living in the saloons of Paris, repaying there, in bad language, the benefits of the government. According to them, the act was insignificant, incomplete, unjust, because it made some distinctions between persons, because it did not restore the property of the emigrants, sold or unsold. The approbation of these vain talkers could well be dispensed with. However, the First Consul was so greedy of glory, that these wretched critics sometimes disturbed the pleasure which he received from the universal assent of France and of Europe.

But his ardour for well doing did not depend on praise and censure, and scarcely had he consummated the great act which we have just related, before he already had in preparation others of the highest political and social importance. Relieved from the impediments which the resistance of the Tribunate presented to his fruitful activity, he was resolved during that extraordinary session of Germinal and Floréal, to conclude,

or at least to advance considerably, the re-organisation of France. It is proper to exhibit his ideas on this subject.

By the acts of the First Consul, already known, particularly by the re-establishment of religious worship, it was easy to guess what was the ordinary tendency of his mind, and his particular manner of thinking on questions of social organisation. In general he was disposed to contradict the narrow or exaggerated systems of the Revolution, or, to speak more correctly, of some revolutionists; for, in its first movements the Revolution had been always generous and true. It had wished to abolish the irregularities, the caprices, the unjust distinctions arising from the feudal system, and in virtue of which, for instance, a Jew, a Catholic, a Protestant, a noble, a priest, a shopkeeper, a Burgundian, a Provençal, a Breton, had not the same rights, the same duties, did not support the same burdens, did not enjoy the same advantages; in a word, did not live under the same laws. To make of all these Frenchmen, whatever might be their religion, their birth, their native province, citizens equal in rights and in duties, eligible to every thing according to their merit, this is what the Revolution wished to do in its first enthusiasm, before contradiction had irritated it even to delirium; this is what the First Consul wished to accomplish after that delirium had given place to reason. But that chimerical equality which demagogues had been dreaming about for a moment, which was to put all men on the same level, which hardly admitted the natural inequalities proceeding from a difference of minds and talents, that equality he despised, either as a chimera of the spirit of system, or as a revolt of envy.

He wished, then, in society for a hierarchy, on the steps of which all men, without distinction of birth, should come and place themselves according to their merit, and on the steps of which should remain fixed those whose ancestors had borne them thither, still without offering any obstacle to the new comers who might try to raise themselves in their turn.

To this sort of social vegetation, resulting from nature herself, observed in all countries and at all times, he intended to give a free course, in the institutions he was occupied in founding. Like all powerful minds, who apply themselves to discover in the sentiments of the masses the true interests of humanity, and love to oppose that sentiment to the narrow views of the spirit of system, he sought in the dispositions manifested before his eyes by the people itself, arguments for his opinions.

To those who, in matters of religion, had recommended indifference, he had opposed that popular movement, which had been recently produced at the door of a church, to force the

priests to give burial to an actress. "See," said he, to these partisans of indifference, "see, how indifferent is that multitude! And yourselves," said he also to them, "why have you, in the midst of the greatest revolutionary paroxysm, proclaimed the Supreme Being?—Because, in the bottom of the heart of a people there is something which inclines them to have a God—no matter what."

"As to the manner of classing men in society," said he to those who wished for no distinction: "why then have you created fusils and sabres of honour? Is not that a distinction? And ridiculously enough invented, for men do not carry a fusil or a sabre of honour at their breast, and, for things of this sort, men like what is seen at a distance." The First Consul had observed a singular fact, and he was fond of mentioning it to those with whom he was in the habit of conversing. Since France, the object of the respect and of the attentions of Europe, became filled with the ministers of all the powers, or with foreigners of distinction who came to visit it, he was struck with the curiosity with which the populace, and even persons above the populace, followed these foreigners, and were eager to see their rich uniforms and their brilliant decorations. There was often a crowd in the courtyard of the Tuileries to be present at their arrival and departure. "See," said he, "these futile vanities, which geniuses disdain so much. The populace is not of their opinion. It loves those many-coloured cordons as it loves religious pomp. The democrat philosophers call that vanity, idolatry. Idolatry, vanity, let it be. But that idolatry, that vanity, are weaknesses common to the whole human race, and from both great virtues may be made to spring. With these, so much despised baubles, heroes are made! To the one, as to the other of these alleged weaknesses external signs are necessary; there must be a worship for religious sentiment, there must be visible distinctions for the noble sentiment of glory."

The First Consul resolved to create an order which should replace arms of honour, which would have the advantage of being given to the soldier as well as to the general, to the peaceful *savant* as well as to the military man, which should consist in decorations similar in form to those worn throughout Europe, and moreover in useful endowments, useful particularly to the private soldier, when he should have returned to his fields. It was, in his eyes, an additional means of putting new France in relation with other countries. Since it was thus that, throughout all Europe, services rendered were marked out for public esteem, why not admit the same system in France? "Nations," said he, "should not strive to be singular any more than individuals. The affectation of acting differently from the rest of the world is an affectation reproved by persons of sense, and above all by persons of modesty.

Cordons are in use in all countries, let them be," added the First Consul, "in use in France! It will be one relation the more established with Europe. In France alone they were not given; among our neighbours they were given only to the man of gentle birth; I will give them to the man who shall have served best in the army and in the State, or who shall have produced the finest works."

One remark more particularly struck the First Consul, and had become a subject which largely engaged his thoughts; it was, to what a degree the men of the Revolution were disunited, without a bond between them, without strength against their common enemies. Whilst the ancient nobles gave each other the hand; whilst the Vendéans were, although exhausted and subdued, secretly coalesced still; whilst the clergy, although reconstituted, formed, nevertheless, a powerful corporation, very equivocal in its friendship to the government, the men who had made that revolution were divided, and even disavowed, it must be said, by ungrateful and mistaken opinion. No sooner had the elections been allowed to go on alone, than there were seen starting up new personages to whom one could not impute either good or evil; or, *vice versâ*, hot-brained revolutionists, the remembrance of whom inspired terror. In the eyes of a new generation, which gave no thanks for their efforts, to those who from '89 to 1800, had suffered so much to enfranchise France, their best claim was to have done nothing. The First Consul was convinced, and with reason, that if this movement had assistance, there would soon not be one of the authors of the Revolution left on the stage; that a new class, easily inclined to royalism, would be produced; that at the very utmost there would be, when opportunity offered, a revolutionary reaction, which would cause the reappearance of some men of blood; that the elections conducted under the Directory, alternately royalist, after the fashion of the club of Clichy, or revolutionary, after the fashion of Babœuf, were a proof of it, and that, from convulsions to convulsions, they would end with the triumph of the Bourbons, and of foreigners, that is to say, with a pure counter-revolution.

He looked on it, then, as indispensable to slacken the movement of free institutions, by so doing, to maintain in power the generation which had effected the Revolution, to maintain them in it, with the exception only of some few blood-stained individuals, and even to those, to secure oblivion for their past errors, and a subsistence for their future years; to found with this generation a society, tranquil, regular, and brilliant, of which he should be the head, of which his companions in arms, and his civil colleagues should form the upper class, the aristocracy, if one chose to call it so, but an aristocracy always open to rising merit, in which should be placed, they and their children, the men who had rendered great services, and in which men capable of

rendering new services might always come and take their station. This society, thus formed after the eternal laws of nature, he wished to surround with all sorts of glories, to embellish by all the arts, for the purpose of opposing with advantage that *ancien régime*, existing like a living recollection in the memory of the emigrants, existing as a reality in all Europe; and he hoped to re-attach to it the emigrants themselves, when time should have corrected them, when the charm of high employments should have attracted them, yet, on condition that they would come, not as disdainful protectors, but as useful and submissive servants. What degree of political liberty would he grant to that society thus constituted? He knew not. He thought that the present moment was not particularly adapted to it, for, all liberty granted changed into cruel reactions; and he believed, moreover, that liberty would arrest his creative genius. Besides, he thought but little at the time on this question; and the country, eager for order only, did not allow him to think of it much. He wished then to found this society upon the principles of the French Revolution, to give it good civil laws, a powerful administration, rich finances, and external grandeur; that is to say, all benefits, save one alone, leaving for others, at a later period the care of conferring on it, or of letting it take, as much public liberty as was consistent.

It was from ideas, such as these, that he had conceived his system of civil and military rewards, and his plan of education.

The arms of honour, devised by the Convention, had not excited much interest, because they were not adapted to manners. They had, besides, involved administrative complications, which were very vexatious, on account of the double pay granted to some, and refused to others. The First Consul conceived the idea of instituting an order, in military form, but not destined for military men alone. He called it the Legion of Honour, wishing to impress the idea of an assemblage of men pledged to the cultivation of honour, and the defence of certain principles. It was to be composed of fifteen cohorts, each cohort of seven grand officers, twenty commanders, thirty officers, and 350 private legionaries, in all 6000 individuals of every rank. The oath indicated to what cause they were to dedicate themselves, when enrolled in the Legion of Honour. Each member promised to devote himself to the defence of the Republic, of the integrity of its territory, of the principle of equality, and of the inviolability of properties called national. It was, consequently, a legion which would pledge its honour to make the principles and the interests of the Revolution triumphant. Decorations and endowments were attached to each rank. To the grand officers was allotted a salary of 5000 francs (200*l.* sterling), to commanders 2000 francs (80*l.* sterling), to officers 1000 francs (40*l.* sterling), to the private legionaries 250 francs

(10*l.* sterling). An endowment in national property was to provide for these expenses. Each cohort was to have its station in the district where its particular possessions were situated. All the combined cohorts were to be administered by a superior council formed of seven members; the three Consuls first, then four grand officers; the first of the latter was to be named by the Senate, the second by the Legislative Body, the third by the Tribunate, the fourth by the Council of State. The council of the Legion of Honour, composed in this manner, was charged with the duty of managing the possessions of the Legion, and of deliberating on the nomination of its members. What served to complete the institution and to indicate its spirit was, that civil services in every line, such as the administration, the government, sciences, letters, arts, were as much titles of admission as military services. Setting out from the present state of things, it was decided that officers and soldiers who had Arms of Honour, should be, by right, members of the Legion, and classed in its ranks according to their grade in the army.

This institution numbers not much more than forty years, and it is already consecrated as if it had passed through centuries, to such a degree has it become in those forty years, the recompense of heroism, of knowledge, of merit of every sort! so much has it been sought after by the grandees and princes of Europe, the most proud of their origin. Time, the judge of institutions, has then pronounced its decision on the utility and dignity of this particular one. Let us set aside the abuse which may have been made sometimes of such a recompense, through the different governments that have succeeded each other, an abuse inherent in every recompense given to man by his fellow-man, and let us recognise what was beautiful, profound, novel to the world, in an institution whose intent was to place on the breast of the private soldier, and of the modest *savant*, the same decoration that was to figure on the breasts of leaders of armies, of princes, and of kings! let us recognise that this creation of an honour-conferring distinction was the most dazzling triumph of equality itself, not of that equality which puts men on a level by debasing them, but which equalises while it elevates them; in a word, let us recognise, that if for the great men of the civil or military order, it might possibly be only a gratification of vanity, it was for the private soldier, when returning to his rural home, an addition to the comforts of the peasant, at the same time that it was a visible proof of heroism.

Next after this admirable system of rewards, the First Consul had employed himself with no less assiduity on a system of education for the French youth. Education in fact, was at this time null, or abandoned to the enemies of the Revolution.

The religious communities formerly engaged in the education of youth, had disappeared with the ancient order of things. There was a tendency towards their revival; but the First Consul had no intention of giving up the guidance of the new generation to them; looking on them as the secret agents of his enemies. The institutions by which the Convention had sought to supply their place had been only a chimera, which had already almost disappeared. The Convention had meant to give gratuitously primary instruction to the common people, and secondary instruction to the middle classes, so as to render both accessible to all families. It ended in nothing. The communes had given habitations to the primary instructors, in general the parsonage houses of the ancient country curés, but had not paid them salaries, or, at least, had done so in assignats. Indigence very soon dispersed these unfortunate masters. The central schools, in which secondary instruction was dispensed, being placed in each chief town of a department, were establishments in some sort academical, where public courses were held, at which youths might attend some hours a day, but returned from them afterwards to their homes, or to boarding-houses established by private speculation. The nature of the studies was conformable to the spirit of the times. Classical studies, considered as an antiquated routine, had been almost abandoned in them. The natural and exact sciences, and the living languages, had taken the place of the ancient ones. A museum of natural history was attached to each of these schools. Such a mode of instruction had little influence on youth; for a course of study which lasts one or two hours a day is not the way to make an impression upon it. Youth was left to be moulded by the heads of the boarding-schools, at that time, for the most part, hostile to the new order of things, or greedy speculators, treating youth as an object of traffic, not as a sacred trust of the State and of families. The central schools, besides, placed in the hundred and two departments, one in each chief town, were too numerous. There were not pupils enough for these hundred and two schools. Thirty-two only had drawn attendance, and become nurseries of instruction. Some distinguished professors, who still preserved the spirit of sound erudition, had made their appearance there. But political vicissitudes, there as elsewhere, had exercised their melancholy influence. The professors, chosen by the juries of instruction, had succeeded one another, as the parties did, to power, had appeared and disappeared by turns, and the pupils along with them. In short, these schools, without bond, without unity, without a common direction, presented scattered fragments, and not a grand edifice of public instruction. The First Consul formed his project at the first cast, with his usual resolution of mind.

In the first place, the finances of France did not allow primary instruction to be given everywhere and gratuitously to the people, who, besides, would not have leisure enough to avail themselves of it, if the State had had money enough to afford it to them. The most that could be done was to provide for the expenses of the new clergy, and this it was possible to do, owing to a particular circumstance of the time, namely the mass of ecclesiastical pensions, which served instead of salaries to most of the curés. It was therefore impossible to pay a primary instructor in each commune. They were consequently established only among populations in sufficiently easy circumstances to bear the expenses themselves. The commune gave a residence and a school-room, the scholars paid a remuneration, calculated by the wants of the master. It was all that could be done at the time.

For the moment, the most important was the secondary instruction. The First Consul suppressed, in his project, the central schools, which were only public courses, without uniformity, without effect on youth. There were found to be thirty-two central schools, which had more or less succeeded. This was an indication of the want of instruction in the different parts of France. The First Consul projected thirty-two establishments, which he named Lyceums, a name borrowed from antiquity, and which were boarding-houses where youth retained during the principal years of adolescence, should be subjected to the double influence of a sound literary instruction, and an education masculine, severe, and sufficiently religious, altogether military, modelled on the régime of civil equality. He wished to re-establish in them the old classic system, which assigned the first place to the ancient languages, and gave the second only to the mathematical and physical sciences, leaving to the special schools the care of completing the teaching of the latter. He was right in that as in the remainder. The study of the dead languages is not only a study of words, but a study of things; it is the study of antiquity, with its laws, its manners, its arts, its history; so moral, so deeply instructive. There is only one age at which to learn these things: it is boyhood. When youth has once arrived, with its passions, its tendency to exaggeration and to false taste, or riper age with its positive interests, life passes away without a moment having been bestowed on the study of a world, dead as the tongues that open the entrance of it to us. If a late curiosity leads us to it again, it is through the medium of faint and insufficient translations that we penetrate into this beauteous antiquity. And in a time when religious ideas are weakened, if the acquaintance with antiquity cease too, we should form nothing more than a society without moral tie to the past, informed only concerning the present, and occupied with it; a society ignorant, debased, and fitted exclusively for the mechanical arts.

The First Consul wished then that, in his project, the classical studies should resume their rank. The sciences were to come next. So much of them was to be taught as is useful in all the professions of life, and as was necessary to pass from the secondary to the special schools. Religious instruction was to be given by chaplains, military instruction by old officers who had left the army. All movements were to be executed there at a military pace, and with beat of drum. This system was suitable to a nation destined universally to bear arms, either in the army or in the national guard. Eight professors of ancient languages or of *belles-lettres*, a censor of studies, a steward, having charge of the chattels, one head-master, under the name of *proviseur*, composed the establishments of these institutions.

Such were the schools in which the First Consul wished to form the French youth. But how was it to be attracted thither? There was the difficulty. The First Consul provided for it by bold and sure means, such as must be employed when one earnestly wishes to attain one's ends. He thought of creating 6400 gratuitous exhibitions, of which the State should bear the expenses, and which, at a medium rate of 700 to 800 francs (28*l.* to 32*l.* sterling), would represent a total expense of 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 francs (200,000*l.* to 240,000*l.* sterling) per annum, a considerable sum at the time. These 6000 and some hundred pupils were sufficient to furnish the nucleus of the population of the Lyceums. The confidence of families, which it was hoped to acquire in the sequel, would some day relieve the State from the continuance of such a sacrifice. The produce of these 6000 exhibitions formed at the same time a sufficient resource for covering the greater part of the expense of the new establishments.

The First Consul intended to distribute in the following manner the exhibitions of which the government was to have the disposal: 2400 were to be given to the children of retired soldiers whose circumstances were narrow; of civil functionaries who had done useful service; of the inhabitants of the provinces lately united to France. The 4000 remaining were destined to the boarding-schools already established. A great number of these boarding-schools were, in fact, private speculations. The First Consul thought it right to let them remain; but he connected them with his plan by means the most simple and efficacious. These boarding-schools could not henceforward subsist without the authority of government; they were to be inspected annually by the agents of the State; they were obliged to send their pupils to the lectures at the Lyceums, paying a trifling remuneration; finally, the 4000 exhibitions were, after an annual examination, to be distributed among the pupils of the various boarding-schools, in proportion to the recognised merit and good order of each house.

Thus connected with the general plan, the boarding-schools absolutely formed a part of it.

Passing next to the special instruction, the First Consul occupied himself with completing its organisation. The study of jurisprudence had perished with the ancient judiciary establishment; he created ten schools of law. The schools of medicine, less neglected, subsisted to the number of three; he proposed to create six of them. The Polytechnic School existed; it was connected with this organisation. To these were added a school of public services, since known by the title of "School of Bridges and Roads;" a school for the mechanical arts, at that time fixed at Compiégne, since at Châlons-sur-Marne, the first model of the schools of arts and trades which are at this day judged to be so useful; finally, a school for the grand art which then constituted the power of the First Consul and of France, a school of military art, destined to occupy the palace of Fontainebleau.

One thing was yet wanting to the perfection of this work, namely, a body of learned men, which might supply these colleges with instructors, which might embrace them in its surveillance; in a word, what has since been called the University. But the moment had not yet arrived for that. It was already a great deal to save from wreck the establishments of public instruction, and to create, all at once, with the actual professors, colleges dependent on the State, where the youth of all classes, attracted by gratuitous education, should be formed on one common model, regular and conformable to the principles of the French Revolution, and to sound literary education. The First Consul said to Fourcroy: "This is only a commencement; by and by we shall do more and better."

These two important projects were carried to the Council of State, and warmly debated in that enlightened body. The First Consul, who did not like public discussion, because, at the time, it agitated minds which had been too long ruffled, sought it, nay provoked it, in the sittings of the Council of State. It was his representative government. There he was familiar and eloquent, there he allowed himself every latitude, and permitted the same to others, and by the collision of his mind with that of his opponents, produced more flashes than can be obtained in a great assembly, where the solemnity of the tribune, and the inconveniences of publicity, incessantly impede and repress true liberty of thought. This form of discussion would be even the best for the elucidation of affairs, so it were not dependent on a determined master to confine it to limits fixed by his will. But for enlightened despotism, when it wishes to be enlightened, such a body is the best of institutions.

The Council of State, composed of all the men of the Revolution, and of some of those who had more recently sprung up,

presented in its *ensemble* the different shades of public opinion, and those very little softened; for if, on the one hand, Messrs. Portalis, Rœderer, Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely, Devaines, efficiently represented in it the party inclined to monarchical reaction; Messrs. Thibaudeau, Berlier, Truguet, Emmery, Berenger, represented the party faithful to the Revolution, even sometimes to a defence of its prejudices. But there, within the closed doors of the Council of State, the discussions were sincere and pre-eminently useful.

The project of the Legion of Honour was strongly attacked. Here, as in the affair of the Concordat, the First Consul was, perhaps, in advance of the intelligence of the day. That generation, which very soon afterwards prostrated itself before the altars, which very soon afterwards covered itself with decorations with boyish eagerness, still resisted, for the moment, the re-establishment of public worship and the institution of the Legion of Honour.

It was even found in the Council of State, that the institution of the Legion of Honour was a blow to equality, that it was the recommencement of an abolished aristocracy, that it was too avowed a return to the *ancien régime*. The object so elevated, so positive, indicated by the oath, that is to say, the maintenance of the principles of the Revolution, affected its opponents but slightly. They asked if the obligations contained in that oath were not common to all the citizens, if all were not to concur in defending the territory, the principles of equality, the national property, &c.; and if to particularise this obligation for some was not to render it less binding on others. It was asked if this Legion had not too exceptionable an object, as, for instance, that of defending a power to which it should be attached by the link of benefits. Others, citing the Constitution, objected that it had spoken of a system of military rewards only. They added, that the institution would be better understood, would raise fewer objections, if it had for its end the rewarding of warlike actions exclusively; that actions of this kind were so much matters of fact, so easily appreciable, so generally recompensed in all countries, that nobody could find fault if it were confined to this clear and limited object.

The First Consul replied to all these objections with the strongest arguments. "What is there aristocratic," said he, "in a distinction purely personal, and merely for life, bestowed on the man who has displayed merit, whether civil or military; bestowed on himself alone, bestowed for his life only, and not passing to his children? Such a distinction is the reverse of aristocratic, for the essential of aristocratic titles is, that they are transmissible from the man who has earned them to his son who has done nothing to acquire them. An order is the most personal, the least aristocratic, of institutions. But, it may be said, after this will come something else. That is possible," added the First Consul, "but let us first see what is given to us, we

will judge of the remainder afterwards. It is asked what this legion of 6000 individuals signifies, and what are to be its duties? It is asked, if it has other duties than those imposed on the whole mass of the citizens, who are all equally bound to defend territory, constitution, equality. In the first place, to this question one may reply, that all citizens must defend their common country, and that, nevertheless, there is an army on which that duty is more particularly imposed. Would it then be astonishing if in the army there should be a *corps d'élite*, from which would be expected more devotion to its duties, and more disposition to the grand sacrifice of life? But, do you want to know what this legion is to be?" exclaimed the First Consul, returning to his favourite idea, "here is an explanation. It is an essay at organisation for the men, originators or partisans of the Revolution; who are neither emigrants nor Vendéans, nor priests. The *ancien régime*, so battered by the ram of the Revolution, is more entire than is believed. All the emigrants hold one another by the hand; the Vendéans are still secretly enrolled; and with the words legitimate king, religion, there might in an instant be assembled thousands of arms, which would be raised, depend upon it, if their fatigue and the strength of the government did not restrain them. The priests form a body, not very friendly, at bottom, to us all. It is needful that, on their side, the men who have taken part in the Revolution should be united, bonded together, should form, too, a solid combination, and cease to depend on the first accident which might strike one single head. You had an exceedingly narrow escape from being hurled back into chaos by the explosion of the 3rd Nivôse, and given up defenceless to your enemies. For ten years we have been only making ruins; we must now found an edifice, wherein to establish ourselves, and to dwell. These 6000 legionaries, composed of all the men who have effected the Revolution, who have defended it after having made it, who wish to continue it in all that it has reasonable and just, these 6000 legionaries, officers and soldiers, civil functionaries, magistrates, endowed with the national possessions, that is to say, with the patrimony of the Revolution, are one of the strongest guarantees that you can give to the new order of things. And then, depend upon it, the struggle is not over with Europe; be assured, that that struggle will begin again. Is it not a happiness to have in our hands, so easy a means of keeping up, of exciting, the bravery of our soldiers? In place of that chimerical 1,000,000,000 francs which you would not even dare to promise again, you may, with only 3,000,000 francs of revenue in national property, raise up as many heroes to uphold the Revolution as were found for undertaking it."

Such were the arguments of the First Consul. There were others besides, destined for those who insisted that the new

order was purely military, and decreed exclusively to the army. "It is not my intention," said he, "to found a government of Prætorians; it is not my intention to reward soldiers only. My notion is that all sorts of merit are brothers; that the courage of the president of the Convention, resisting the populace, ought to be ranked with the courage of Kléber, mounting to the assault of St. Jean d'Acre. People talk of the terms of the Constitution. They ought not to suffer themselves to be so fettered by words. The Constitution was desirous of embracing every thing, and has not always succeeded in doing so: it is our province to supply what is deficient. It is right that civil virtues should have their share of reward, as well as the military virtues. Those who oppose this course reason like barbarians. It is the religion of brute force that they recommend to us. But intelligence has its rights before those of force: force itself is nothing without intelligence. In the heroic ages, the general was the strongest and the most dexterous man in person; in civilised times, the general is the most intelligent of the brave. When we were at Cairo, the Egyptians could not comprehend how it could be that Kléber, with his advantages of person, was not commander-in-chief. When Murad Bey had closely observed our tactics, he could comprehend that I, and no other, ought to be the general of an army so conducted. You reason like the Egyptians, when you pretend to confine rewards to military valour. The soldiers," added the First Consul, "the soldiers reason better than you. Go to their bivouacs; listen to them. Do you imagine that it is the tallest of their officers, and the most imposing by his stature, for whom they feel the highest regard? No, it is the bravest. Do you imagine even that the bravest stands first in their esteem? No doubt, they would despise the man whose courage they suspected; but they rank above the merely brave man him whom they consider as the most intelligent. As for myself, do you suppose that it is solely because I am reputed a great general that I rule France? No; it is because the qualities of a statesman and a magistrate are attributed to me. France will never tolerate the government of the sword; those who think so are strangely mistaken. It would require an abject servitude of fifty years before that could be the case. France is too noble, too intelligent a country, to submit to material power, and to inaugurate within her limits that worship of force. Let us honour intelligence, virtue, the civil qualities; in short, let us bestow upon them in all professions the like reward."

These reasons, assigned with warmth and energy, and issuing from the lips of the greatest captain of modern times, at once persuaded and charmed the whole Council of State. They were, it must be confessed, both sincere and interested. The First Consul was desirous that it should be thoroughly understood, especially by the military, that it was not as general

alone, but as the man of genius, that he was the ruler of France.

As he was not to be prevailed upon to forego his plan, he was earnestly exhorted to withhold it, upon the plea that it was yet too early; that, having, perhaps, outstripped the march of intelligence in regard to the Concordat, it would be right to pause a moment, and to give public opinion a short respite. He would not listen to any of these counsels. It was his nature to be, in all things, impatient for the result.

The plan relative to the system of public education likewise excited grave discussions in the Council of State. The party in favour of monarchical reaction was not far from wishing for the re-establishment of the religious corporations. The contrary party supported the central schools, and insisted rather on the improvement than the abolition of that system. The latter likewise showed some distrust on account of the 6400 exhibitions left in the gift of the government.

"The ancient corporations are not suited to the present time," said the First Consul; "besides, they are hostile. The clergy accommodates itself to the present government, and prefers it to the Convention and the Directory; but the Bourbons would be much better liked by it. As for the central schools, they no longer exist. They are a cipher. We must create a vast system and organise public education in France. People imagine, perhaps, that it was for the sake of influence that those 6400 exhibitions were proposed. That is looking at the question in a very petty point of view. Of influence, the present government has more than it wants. There is nothing, in fact, that it could not do at this moment, especially if it purposed to react against the Revolution, to destroy what it created, to re-establish what it destroyed. From all quarters this is called for. It is assailed by confidential papers of all kinds, in which each of the writers proposes the restoration of some part or other of the ancient system. We must beware of giving way to such an impulsion. Those 6000 exhibitions are necessary for organising a new society, and filling it with the spirit of the age. In the first place, it is necessary to provide for the military and their children. We owe every thing to them. They have received no part of the promised 1,000,000,000. The least we can do is to insure to them a subsistence. Those exhibitions are an indispensable supplement to their slender pay. The civil functionaries, on their part, deserve to be rewarded and encouraged, when they have served faithfully. Besides, they are as poor as the military. Both will give us their children to educate, to fashion according to the new system. The 4000 exhibitions which we take in the boarding-schools will also be a nursery of subjects, which we shall secure for the same purpose. It behoves us to found a new society upon the principles of civil equality, in which every one finds his

place, which presents neither the injustices of feudalism nor the confusion of anarchy. It is urgently necessary to found this society, for it does not exist. In order to found it, we must have materials; the only good materials are the youth of the country. We must, therefore, make up our minds to take them; and if we do not draw them to us by the bait of gratuitous education, the parents will not give them to us of their own motion. We are all suspected, we authors, accomplices, or defenders of the Revolution; so changeable are nations! so weaned are people from the illusions of '89! We shall not readily have the children of good families given to us, unless we take measures to attract them. If we were to found lyceums without exhibitions, they would be a hundred times more deserted than the central schools; for parents can send their children, without fear, to public courses, in which Latin and mathematics are taught; but they would not easily send them to boarding-schools, completely under the control of the supreme authority. There is but one way of drawing them, that is by exhibitions. And then, the inhabitants of the recently incorporated departments must be made Frenchmen too. To accomplish this, there is again but one way, that is, to take their children, even somewhat against their will, and to place them with the sons of your military officers, of your functionaries, and of your families in narrow circumstances, whom the advantages of a gratuitous education shall have disposed to a confidence which they would not naturally have. Those children will then learn our language; they will imbibe our spirit; we shall thus blend together the French of past times and the French of the present day; the French of the centre, and the French of the banks of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Po."

These profound reasons, repeated in more than one meeting, and in a thousand different forms, and merely the substance of which we record here, gained acceptance for the *projet de loi*. M. Fourcroy was charged to carry it to the Legislative Body, and to support it in the discussion.

This bill (*projet*) and that of the Legion of Honour were submitted to the Legislative Body nearly at the same time; for the First Consul would not suffer this short session to pass without laying the principal foundations of his new edifice. The law relative to public instruction met with no great obstacles; and, supported by M. Fourcroy, who, with the First Consul, was half its author, it was adopted by a considerable majority. In the Tribunate, it obtained eighty white balls against nine black ones; in the Legislative Body 251 against twenty-seven. But the law relative to the Legion of Honour was not so favourably received. In both assemblies it met with an equally violent resistance. Lucien Bonaparte was nominated reporter, and, from the warmth with which he took up its

defence, it was but too evident that he was defending a family idea. The institution was vehemently attacked in the Tribunate by Messrs. Savoie-Rollin and de Chauvelin, the latter making a point, in a manner, of defending the principle of equality, notwithstanding the name which he bore. Lucien, who had a talent for public speaking, but who had not exercised it sufficiently, replied with little temper and moderation, and contributed much to indispose the Tribunate. In spite of the sifting which that body had undergone, the *projet*, when presented, obtained only fifty-six white balls against thirty-eight black ones. In the Legislative Body, the discussion, though turning entirely one way, since the Tribunate, having adopted the proposition of the government, had sent only orators to support it, the discussion failed to gain many minds. There were only 166 favourable votes against 110 contrary. The *projet de loi* was, therefore, adopted, but rarely had the minority been so strong and the majority so weak, even before the exclusion of the opposition members. The reason was because the First Consul had shocked the sentiment of equality, the only one which survived in men's hearts. This sentiment took alarm, unjustly, no doubt, for there was nothing less aristocratic than an institution which had for its object to decree to soldiers and men of science a distinction merely for life, and the same that was to be worn by generals and princes. But every sentiment, when violent, is susceptible and jealous. The First Consul had proceeded too hastily; and this he admitted—"We ought to have waited," said he, "that is true. But we were right; and when one is in the right one ought to be able to risk something. Besides, this *projet* was not well supported; proper stress was not laid on the best arguments. Had they been urged with truth and energy, the opposition would have given way."

The conclusion of this prolific session approached; and yet the treaty of Amiens had not been carried to the Legislative Body, to be converted by it into a law. This important act was reserved for the last. It was intended to serve, in some measure, as a crown to the works of the First Consul, and to the deliberations of that extraordinary session. It was considered, moreover, as an occasion for the display of the public gratitude to the author of all the blessings which the nation enjoyed.

For some time past, in fact, people had been asking themselves if some signal testimony of national gratitude was not to be given to the man who, in two years and a half, had drawn France out of chaos, and reconciled her with Europe, with the Church, with herself, and who had already almost completely organised her. This feeling of gratitude was universal and deserved. It was easy to make this subservient to the secret wishes of the First Consul—wishes which consisted in obtain-

ing, in perpetuity, the power that had been conferred on him for ten years. The minds of people in general were, moreover, made up on this point; and, with the exception of a small number of royalists or Jacobins, nobody would have wished that the supreme power should fall into other hands than those of general Bonaparte. The indefinite continuance of his authority was considered as the simplest and most inevitable matter. It was easy, therefore, to convert this disposition of minds into a legal act; and if, eighteen months before, when the famous "Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, and general Bonaparte," provoked too early a discussion on this point, some repulsion was met with, that was no longer the case. There needed but a word to be said, to cause a real sovereignty to be offered to the First Consul, under whatever title and whatever form he pleased. It would have been sufficient to choose any suitable occasion, and to put forward the proposition, to induce its immediate adoption.

The moment when so many memorable acts succeeded close upon the heels of each other, was, in reality, that which the First Consul in his calculations, his friends in their interested impatience, and considerate minds in their foresight, had designated, and which the public, simple and sincere in its sentiments, was ready to accept, for a great manifestation. General Bonaparte wished for the supreme power; that was natural and excusable. In doing good, he had followed the impulse of his genius; and, in doing it, he had hoped for its reward. There was nothing culpable in that, more especially as, in his conviction and in reality, an omnipotent chief would be required for a long time to come, in order to complete that good. In a country which could not do without a strong and creative authority, it was legitimate to aspire to the supreme power, when a man was the greatest of his age, and one of the greatest men of all ages. Washington, amidst a democratic, republican, exclusively commercial, and, for a long period, pacific society—Washington was right to show but little ambition. In a society, republican by accident, monarchical by nature, surrounded by enemies, thenceforth military, unable to govern and to defend itself without unity of action, general Bonaparte was right in aspiring to the supreme power, no matter under what title. He was wrong, not in assuming the dictatorship, at that time necessary, but in not having always employed it as he did in the first years of his career. General Bonaparte carefully concealed in his heart desires which were plainly perceived by all, even by the simplest of the people. If he communicated them to his brothers, that was as much as he did. He never said that the title of First Consul for ten years had ceased to satisfy him. It is true that, when the question presented itself in a theoretic form, when the necessity for a strong authority was spoken of in a

general manner, he launched out, and expressed his ideas on that subject. But never did he conclude to demand a prolongation of power for himself. At once dissembling and trustful, he communicated certain things to some, certain things to others, and concealed something from all. To his colleagues, especially to M. Cambacérès, whose extraordinary prudence he appreciated, and to Messrs. Fouché and de Talleyrand, to whom he granted a great share of influence, he spoke explicitly on all that concerned the public affairs, much more than to his brothers, to whom he was far from intrusting the secrets of the State. On points that touched him personally, on the contrary, he said little, either to his colleagues or to his ministers, and much to his brothers. Still, he had not disclosed even to them the secret ambition of his heart; but it was so easy to be guessed, and the members of his family were so anxious to contribute towards its accomplishment, that they spared him the trouble of being the first to open his mind on the subject. They talked to him incessantly about it, and they left him the more convenient position of having to moderate, rather than to excite, zeal for his aggrandisement. Accordingly, they assured him that the time was come for constituting, in his favour, something better than an ephemeral, a transient, power; that he ought to think of attributing to himself one that was perfectly solid and durable. Joseph, with the peaceable mildness of his character; Lucien, with the petulance of his nature, tended openly to the same end. They had, for confidants and co-operators, the men with whom they were intimate, and who, either in the Council of State or in the Senate, shared their sentiments from conviction, or from a desire to please. Messrs. Regnault, Laplace, Talleyrand, and Rœderer, the latter always the most ardent in that vote, were frankly of opinion that monarchy ought to be restored, the sooner and the more completely the better. M. de Talleyrand, the calmest, but not the least active of them, was very partial to monarchy, elegant and brilliant, as in the palace of Versailles; but yet without the Bourbons, with whom he, at that time, deemed himself incompatible. He was incessantly repeating, with an authority which could belong to none but himself, that, for negotiating with Europe, it would be much easier to treat in the name of a monarchy than of a republic; that the Bourbons were troublesome and disesteemed guests for the sovereigns; that general Bonaparte, with his glory, his power, his courage in repressing anarchy, was for them the most desirable, the most expected, of all sovereigns; that, as for himself, the minister for foreign affairs, he affirmed that, to add, no matter how, to the present authority of the First Consul was conciliating, so far from offending Europe. These intimate confidants of the Bonaparte family had largely discussed among themselves the question of the moment. Still,

to vault at one leap into a sovereignty, whether it were to be called empire or royalty, appeared very great temerity. Perhaps it would be better to attain it by passing through several intermediate stages. Now, without changing the title of First Consul, which was more convenient, an equivalent to royal power, and an equivalent even to hereditary succession, might be given to him—this was the consulship for life, with the authority to appoint his successor. By making a few modifications in the Constitution, modifications easy to be obtained from the Senate, which had become a sort of constituent power, it was possible to create a real sovereignty, under a republican title. There would even be secured, by the faculty of appointing a successor, the only actually desirable advantages of hereditary succession; for, the First Consul having no children, having only brothers and nephews, it would be better to invest him with the right of choosing from among them the one whom he should judge most worthy to succeed to his power.

This idea, appearing the wisest and the most prudent, seemed to be adopted in preference by the Bonaparte family. That family was, at the moment, extremely agitated. The brothers of the First Consul, who had on their brows a ray of his glory, but who were not satisfied with that, and desired to see him a real monarch, that they might become princes by the right of blood, were very restless, complaining that they were nothing, that they had contributed to the elevation of their brother, but had not a rank in the State proportionate to their merit and their services. Joseph, of a more quiet disposition, satisfied with the part of ordinary negotiator of peace, wealthy, and held in consideration, was less impatient. Lucien, who gave himself out for republican, was, nevertheless, the one who showed most anxiety to see the sovereign power of his brother erected on the ruins of the Republic. Quite recently, he had refused to dine at Madame Bonaparte's, saying that he would go when a place should be marked out there for the brothers of the First Consul. In the bosom of that family, Madame Bonaparte, more worthy of interest, because she felt none of those ambitious aspirations, but dreaded them, on the contrary, Madame Bonaparte was, as usual, more alarmed than pleased at the changes which were preparing. She was afraid, as we have already observed, that her husband would be urged to ascend too hastily the steps of that throne on which she had beheld the Bourbons seated, and on which it appeared incredible to her that any other persons could sit. She was apprehensive lest inconsiderate brothers, solicitous to share the greatness of their brother, might imprudently accelerate his elevation, and, in making him ascend too quickly, might precipitate her, him, themselves, all together, into an abyss. Relieved, to a certain degree, by the affection of her husband, from the dread of a speedy divorce, she was haunted at the moment by

but one image—that of the new Cæsar, stabbed at the moment when he should attempt to place the diadem upon his head.

Madame Bonaparte frankly avowed her fears to her husband, who made her hold her tongue, by sharply enjoining silence. Repulsed by him, she had recourse to those who had any influence over him, beseeching them to oppose the counsels of ambitious and ill-advised brothers; and thus gave to her dislikes and her terrors a mischievous notoriety, which displeased the First Consul.

Among the personages admitted into the circle of this family, Fouché, the minister, entered more than any other into the views of Madame Bonaparte. Not that he had more pride of sentiment than the men by whom the First Consul was surrounded, and that he was the only one of them all who sought not to please the inevitable master—nothing of the sort. But he possessed great shrewdness: he saw with apprehension the impatience of the Bonaparte family; he heard more closely than any one else the subdued murmurs of the vanquished republicans, who were not numerous, but indignant at so speedy a usurpation; and he himself, amidst this agitation, felt some emotion on account of what was about to be undertaken. Though he had no wish to forfeit the confidence of the First Consul, which, on the contrary, he was more desirous than ever to retain, since the First Consul was soon likely to be the arbiter of the fate of all, still he allowed part of what he thought to be guessed at. Being on friendly terms with Madame Bonaparte, he had listened to the expression of the alarms with which she was beset, and, fearing the resentment of her husband, had endeavoured to soothe her—"Madam," said he, "keep yourself quiet. You cross your husband to no purpose. He will be consul for life, king, or emperor, all that it is possible to be. Your fears annoy, my advice would irritate him. Let us, then, keep in our places, and leave events, which neither you nor I can prevent, to take their own course."

The *denouement* of this agitated scene approached in proportion as the extraordinary session of the year X. drew towards a close; and the leaders were heard repeating more frequently and more loudly, that it was necessary to give stability to the supreme power, and a testimony of gratitude to the benefactor of France and of the world. This *denouement*, however, could not be brought about in a safe and natural manner without the aid of one man, and that man was the Consul Cambacérès. We have already adverted to his secret, but real and skilfully managed, influence over the mind of the First Consul. His ascendency over the Senate was equally great. That body paid a real deference to the old lawyer, who had become the confidant of the new Cæsar. M. Sieyès, the creator, in some measure, of

the Senate, had at first possessed a certain influence in it. His intention of gaining over that body to the opposition having been very soon discovered and thwarted, M. Sieyès was now nothing more than he had always been; that is to say, a man of a superior mind, but soured, impotent, henceforward confined to the part of finding fault with every thing at his seat at Crosne—the vulgar recompense of his great services. M. Cambacérès, on the contrary, had become the secret director of the Senate. As, at the present juncture, general Bonaparte could not proclaim himself consul for life or emperor, because it was necessary that some one body should take the initiative, it was evidently the Senate, and in the Senate the man who directed it, to whom the greatest importance belonged.

M. Cambacérès, though devoted to the First Consul, beheld not without some mortification the change which tended to place him at a still greater distance from his illustrious colleague. Knowing, however, that things would not remain as they were, that it would be lost labour to oppose the desires of general Bonaparte, and that, moreover, in their present limits, those desires were legitimate, M. Cambacérès resolved to interpose spontaneously, for the purpose of causing all this internal agitation to terminate in a reasonable result, and of giving to the government a stable form, which should satisfy the ambition of the First Consul, without too completely effacing those republican forms which were still dear to the hearts of many.

While those around the First Consul were engaged in animated conversation on this subject, he himself listening, and even affecting to keep silence, M. Cambacérès put an end to this state of constraint, by speaking first to his colleague of what was passing. He did not disguise from him the danger of precipitation in an affair of this nature, and the advantage which there would be in retaining a modest and wholly republican form for a power so real and so great as his. Nevertheless, offering him, in his own name, and in the name of the third Consul, Lebrun, an unreserved devotedness, he declared to him, that they were both ready to do whatever he pleased, and to spare him the embarrassment of interfering personally, in a circumstance, in which he ought to appear to receive and not to take the title, which it was in contemplation to give him. The First Consul expressed his gratitude for such an overture, admitted the danger that there would be in doing too much or too hastily, declared that he had formed no desire; that he was content with his present position; that he was not anxious to change it, and should not take any step towards quitting it; that, nevertheless, the constitution of the supreme power was, he thought, precarious, and did not exhibit a sufficient character of solidity and durability; that, in his opinion, some changes ought to be made in the form of the government, but

that he was too directly interested in this question to interfere in it; that he should, therefore, wait, and not take any initiative.

M. Cambacérès, in reply to the First Consul, observed that his personal dignity certainly required great reserve and forbade him ostensibly to take the initiative; but that, if he would thoroughly explain himself to his two colleagues and make them both acquainted with his inmost thoughts, they, when once aware of his intentions, would spare him the trouble of manifesting them, and fall to work without further delay. Whether because he felt a certain embarrassment to avow what he wished, or because he desired more than was destined for him —the sovereignty perhaps—the First Consul covered himself with fresh veils, and merely repeated that he had no fixed idea, but that it would give him pleasure to see his two colleagues watch over the movement of minds and even direct it, to prevent those imprudences which unskilful friends might commit.

Never would the First Consul avow his idea to his colleague Cambacérès. To the natural restraint which he felt was added an illusion. He conceived that, without his having any occasion to interfere, people would come and lay a crown at his feet. This was a mistake. The public, quiet, happy, grateful, was disposed to sanction all that might be done; but, having abdicated, as it were, all participation in public affairs, it was not ready to mix itself up in them, even to express the gratitude with which it was filled. The Bodies of the State, with the exception of the interested leaders, were seized with a fit of modesty, at the idea of coming before the face of Heaven, to abjure those republican forms which they had but recently sworn to uphold. Many persons, not versed in the secrets of politics, went so far as to imagine that the First Consul, content with the omnipotence which he enjoyed, especially since he had got rid of the opposition of the Tribunate, would be satisfied with the power to do whatever he pleased, and assume to himself the easy glory of being a new Washington, with far more genius and glory than the American Washington. Thus, when the leaders asserted that nothing had been done for the First Consul, who had done so much for France, certain simple-minded men innocently replied, "What would you have us do for him? what would you have us offer him? What recompense would be adequate to the services which he has rendered? His true recompense is his glory." M. Cambacérès was too discreet to revenge himself for the dissimulation of the First Consul, by leaving things in this stagnation. It was necessary to settle the matter; and he resolved to set about it immediately. In his opinion, and in that of many other enlightened men, a prolongation of power for ten years conferred on the First Consul, which, with the seven years remaining of the first period, would make the total duration of his consulship

amount to seventeen, would be quite sufficient. This would, in fact, be thwarting those enemies, whether in France or in Europe, who should have calculated on the legal term of his power. But M. Cambacérès was well aware that the First Consul would not be satisfied with this, that something more must be offered him, and that, with the consulship for life, accompanied by the faculty of nominating his successor, all the advantages of hereditary monarchy would be obtained, without the inconveniences of a change of title, without the displeasure which this change might excite in many honest men. He stopped short, therefore, at this idea, which he strove to propagate in the Senate, in the Legislative Body, and in the Tribunate. But, if there were many members ready to vote any thing, there were others who hesitated, and who were for granting no more than a prolongation of ten years.

The First Consul had deferred till this day, and intentionally, the presentation of the treaty of Amiens to the Legislative Body, to be converted into law. M. Cambacérès, comprehending that this was the circumstance which was to be used to draw forth a general acclamation of the proposed changes, made arrangements for producing such a result. The 6th of May (Floréal 16th), had been fixed for carrying to the Legislative Body the treaty which completed the general peace. M. Chabot de l'Allier, president of the Tribunate, was one of the friends of the Consul Cambacérès. The latter sent for him, and concerted with him the course to be pursued. It was agreed between them that, when the treaty should be carried from the Legislative Body to the Tribunate, M. Siméon should propose a deputation to the First Consul, to testify the satisfaction of that assembly; that the president, Chabot de l'Allier, should then quit the chair, and propose the following vote: "The Senate is invited to give the Consuls a testimony of the national gratitude."

Things being thus arranged, on the 6th of May (16th Floréal), the *projet de loi* was carried by three councillors of State to the Legislative Body; these were Messrs. Rœderer, Bruix (admiral), and Berlier. In general, bills (*projets*) were communicated purely and simply by the Legislative Body to the Tribunate; this time, in consequence of the importance of the object, the government resolved to communicate directly to the Tribunate the treaty submitted to the legislative deliberations. Three councillors of State, Regnier, Thibaudeau, and Bigot Préameneu, were charged with this commission. No sooner had they finished making this communication, than Siméon, the tribune, applied for leave to speak. "Since the government," said he, "has communicated to us in so solemn a manner the treaty of peace concluded with Great Britain, we ought to respond to this procedure by one of a similar nature. I propose that a deputation be sent to the government, to con-

gratulate it on the re-establishment of the general peace." This proposition was immediately adopted. The president, Chabot de l'Allier, having given up the chair to M. Stanislas de Girardin, proceeded to the Tribune, and spoke as follows:—

"Among all nations, public honours have been decreed to men who, by splendid actions, have honoured their country, and saved it from great dangers.

"What man ever had stronger claims to the national gratitude than general Bonaparte?

"What man, whether at the head of armies, or at the head of the government, reflected greater honour upon the country and rendered it more signal services?

"His valour and his genius have saved the French people from the excesses of anarchy and the miseries of war, and the French people is too great, too magnanimous, to leave such benefits without a great reward.

"Tribunes, be its organs. To us it belongs more especially to take the initiative, when the point is to express, in so memorable a circumstance, the sentiments and the will of the French people?"

M. Chabot de l'Allier concluded this speech by proposing to the Tribunate the vote of some great manifestation of gratitude towards the First Consul.

He proposed, moreover, to communicate this wish to the Senate, to the Legislative Body, and to the government. The proposition was adopted unanimously.

This deliberation was soon known to the Senate, and that body immediately decided that a special commission should be formed, in order to present its ideas concerning the testimony of national gratitude suitable to be given to the First Consul.

The deputation which Siméon, the tribune, had proposed to send to the government was received on the following day, the 7th of May (17th Floréal), at the Tuileries. The First Consul was surrounded by his colleagues, a great number of high functionaries, and generals. His attitude was grave and modest. M. Siméon was the spokesman. He celebrated the exploits of general Bonaparte, and the prodigies of his government, greater than those of his sword; he attributed to him the victories of the Republic, the peace which had followed them, the re-establishment of order, the return of prosperity, and, at length concluding his address, "I must break off," he said, "I am afraid that I shall appear to praise, when all I aim at is to be just, and to express in a few words a profound sentiment, which ingratitude alone could have stifled. We expect the first body of the nation to stand forward as the interpreter of the general sentiment, the expression of which only the Tribunate is permitted to wish and to vote for."

The First Consul, having thanked Siméon, the tribune, for the sentiments which he had just expressed towards him, and

said, that he regarded this as a result of the more cordial communications established between the government and the Tribunate, thus making a direct allusion to the changes effected in that body, the First Consul finished with these noble words: "As for me, I receive with deep gratitude the wish expressed by the Tribunate. I desire no other glory than that of having completely performed the task imposed upon me. I aspire to no other reward than the affection of my fellow-citizens: happy, if they are thoroughly convinced that the evils which they may experience will always be to me the severest of misfortunes; that life is dear to me solely for the services which I am able to render to my country; that death itself will have no bitterness for me, if my last looks can see the happiness of the Republic as firmly secured as its glory."

The only point now left was to decide upon the testimony of gratitude that was to be given to general Bonaparte. About the nature of it there could be no doubt: every body was fully aware that it was by an extension of power that the nation would have to pay the illustrious general for the immense benefits which it had received from him. Some simple minds, however, both in the Tribunate and in the Senate, imagined, when voting, that the public testimony in contemplation was a statue or a monument. But these simple minds were very few in number. The mass of the tribunes and of the senators knew perfectly well what sort of an expression of gratitude was expected. During that and the following day, the Tuileries and the hotel of M. Cambacérès, who resided out of the palace, were thronged. The senators came, eagerly inquiring how they were to act. Their zeal was warm; it was only necessary to speak, and they were ready to decree whatever was desired. One of them even went to Cambacérès, and said, "What does the general want? Does he wish to be king? Only let him say so: I and my colleagues of the Constituent are quite ready to vote the re-establishment of royalty, and more willingly for him than for others, because he is the most worthy." Curious to learn the real sentiments of the First Consul, the senators approached as near to him as they could, and tried in a hundred ways to obtain a single word from his lips, however slightly significant. But he took good care not to reveal his wishes even to Laplace, the senator, who was one of his particular friends, and who, on that account, had been desired to sound his secret intentions. He always replied, that any thing they did, whatever it might be, would be received with gratitude, and that he had not fixed his mind upon any thing. Some wished to know if a prolongation of ten years would be agreeable to him. He replied, with affected humility, that any testimony of the public confidence, whether that or any other, would be sufficient for him, and fill him with satisfaction. The senators, having learned nothing from such communications,

returned to the Consuls Cambacérès and Lebrun, to inquire what course they were to pursue. "Appoint him consul for life," replied they; "that is the best thing you can do." "But it is said that he does not wish for it," replied the most simple, "and that a prolongation for ten years will satisfy him. Why go further than he wishes?"

Lebrun and Cambacérès had difficulty to persuade them. The latter apprised the First Consul of it. "You are wrong," said he, "not to explain yourself. Your enemies, for you have some left, in spite of your services, even in the Senate, will abuse our reserve." The First Consul appeared neither surprised, nor even flattered, by the eager officiousness of the senators. "Let them alone," he replied to M. Cambacérès; "the majority of the Senate is always ready to do more than it is asked. They will go farther than you imagine."

M. Cambacérès answered that he was mistaken. But it was impossible to overcome that stubborn dissimulation, and, as we shall see, the consequences were singular. Notwithstanding the intimations of Messrs. Cambacérès and Lebrun, many good men, who thought it more convenient to give less than more, imagined that the First Consul considered a prolongation of ten years as an ample testimony of the public confidence, and as a sufficient consolidation of his power. The Sieyès party, always extremely spiteful, had roused on this occasion, and was clandestinely exerting itself. The senators who were secretly connected with this party circumvented their wavering colleagues, and affirmed that the sentiments of the First Consul were known; that he would be content with a prolongation for ten years; that he preferred it to any thing else; that every body knew, moreover, that it was rather by himself than by this combination that the public power was consolidated, the Republic upheld, and the dignity of the nation saved. As in the affair of the elections to the Senate, the gallant Lefebvre was one of those who listened to these persuasions, and who imagined that, in voting for a prolongation of ten years, they were doing what general Bonaparte wished. They had been forty-eight hours deliberating. It was necessary to bring the affair to a conclusion. Lanjuinais, the senator, with the courage of which he had exhibited so many proofs, attacked what he called the flagrant usurpation with which the Republic was threatened. His speech was listened to with pain and as something supererogatory. Skilful enemies had prepared a better manœuvre. They had gained a majority in favour of the plan for prolonging the powers of the First Consul for ten years. This resolution was accordingly adopted on the 8th of May (18th Floréal), in the evening. Lefebvre hurried among the first to the Tuileries, to report what had been done, conceiving that he should bring most agreeable intelligence. It arrived from all quarters and produced a surprise equally unforeseen and painful.

The First Consul, surrounded by his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, learned this result with the warmest displeasure. At the first moment, he thought of nothing less than refusing the offer of the Senate. He sent immediately for his colleague Cambacérès, who hastened to him forthwith. Too wise and too prudent to exult over his own foresight and the fault of the First Consul, he said that what had happened was, no doubt, disagreeable, but might be easily repaired; that, above all things, it was necessary not to show any ill-humour; that in twice twenty-fours every thing might be changed; but for this it was requisite to give the affair a new face, and this he undertook to do.—"The Senate offers you a prolongation of power," said M. Cambacérès; "answer that you are very thankful for such an offer, but that it is not from it, but from the suffrage of the nation, that you should hold your authority; that it is from the nation, alone that you can receive the prolongation of it; and that you will consult it by the same means that were employed for the adoption of the consular Constitution, that is to say, by registers opened throughout all France. We will then have drawn up by the Council of State the form that is to be submitted to the national sanction. By this act of deference to the sovereignty of the people, we shall obtain the substitution of one plan instead of another. We will put the question, not whether general Bonaparte is to receive a prolongation of the consular power for ten years, but whether he is to be invested with the consulship for life. If the First Consul were to do such a thing himself," added M. Cambacérès, "too great a shock would be given to decorum. But I, who am second Consul, and wholly disinterested in this affair, can give the impulsion. Let the general set out publicly for Malmaison; I will remain alone in Paris; I will convoke the Council of State, and I will instigate the Council of State to draw up the new proposition which is to be submitted to the acceptance of the nation."

This clever expedient was adopted with great satisfaction by general Bonaparte and by his brothers. M. Cambacérès was warmly thanked for his ingenious combination, and charged with the entire management of the affair. It was agreed that the First Consul should leave Paris next day, after drawing up himself, with M. Cambacérès, the answer to the message.

That answer was composed on the following morning, the 9th of May (19th Floréal), by M. Cambacérès and the First Consul, and addressed immediately to the Senate in reply to its message.

"Senators," said the First Consul, "the honourable proof of esteem given in your deliberation of the 18th will remain for ever engraven on my heart.

"In the three years that have just elapsed, Fortune has smiled upon the Republic; but Fortune is fickle: and how

many men whom she has loaded with her favours have lived a few years too long!

"The interest of my glory and that of my happiness would seem to have marked the term of my public life at the moment when the peace of the world is proclaimed.

"But the glory and the happiness of the citizen ought to be silent, when the interest of the State and the public partiality call him.

"You judge that I owe a new sacrifice to the people; I will make it, if the wish of the people commands what your suffrage authorises."

The First Consul, without explaining himself, indicated pretty plainly that he did not accept the resolution of the Senate precisely as it stood. He set out immediately for Malmaison, leaving to his colleague Cambacérès the task of terminating that important affair agreeably to his wishes. The latter summoned to him the councillors of State who were most accustomed to second the views of the government, and concerted with them what was to be done at the meeting of the council. On the following day, May 10th (20th Floréal), an extraordinary meeting of the Council of State was held. The two Consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, and all the ministers, excepting M. Fouché, attended this meeting. M. Cambacérès presided. He explained the object of the meeting, and appealed to the wisdom of that great body in the important circumstance in which the government was placed. Messrs. Bigot de Préameneu, Roederer, Regnault, Portalis, spoke immediately afterwards, maintained that the stability of the government was at that moment the most urgent want of the State; that foreign powers, for the purpose of treating with France, that public credit, commerce, manufactures, to recover their prosperity, had need of confidence; that the perpetuity of the power of the First Consul was the surest medium of inspiring them with it; that that authority, conferred for ten years, was an ephemeral authority, without solidity, without greatness, because it was without duration; that the Senate, cramped by the Constitution, had not deemed it possible to add a prolongation of more than ten years to the power of the First Consul; but that, in addressing themselves to the national sovereignty, as had been done in regard to all anterior constitutions, they should no longer be cramped by the existing law, because they should go back to the source of all laws; and that it was necessary to put purely and simply this question: SHALL THE FIRST CONSUL BE CONSUL FOR LIFE?

Dubois, prefect of police, member of the Council of State, a man of a generally decided and independent character, acquainted the assembly with the opinion prevailing in Paris. In all quarters the proposition of the Senate was deemed ridiculous; people said that France needed a government; that one had

been at last found, strong, able, fortunate, and that this ought to be preserved; that one ought not to have been able to meddle with the Constitution, but if it was to be meddled with, one had better do so once for all, and organise that government in such a manner as to retain it for ever. What Dubois, the prefect, reported was true. Public opinion was so favourable to the First Consul, that people were universally for settling the question at once, and giving to his power the duration of his life. After these various speeches, M. Cambacérès asked if any member had objections to make; and, as the oppositionists, to the number of five or six, such as Messrs. Berlier, Thibaudeau, Emmery, Dessoles, Berenger, were silent, he put the resolution to the vote, and it was adopted by an immense majority. It was, therefore, resolved that a public vote should be called for on the question, SHALL NAPOLEON BONAPARTE BE CONSUL FOR LIFE?

This resolution being taken, M. Rœderer, who was the boldest of all the members of the monarchical party, proposed to add a second question to the first: it was this—SHALL THE FIRST CONSUL HAVE THE FACULTY OF APPOINTING HIS SUCCESSOR? M. Rœderer was extremely tenacious in regard to this question, and very justly. If they acted with sincerity, if they harboured no after-thought of recurring by and by to what they were doing that day, if, in short, they wished to constitute the new power definitively, the faculty of appointing a successor was the best equivalent to hereditary succession, sometimes superior in its effects to hereditary succession itself; for, it is the expedient which gave to the world the reign of the Antonines. A Consul for life, with the faculty of appointing his successor, was a real monarchy under a republican appearance. It was a fine and a powerful government, which, at least, saved the dignity of the present generation, which had sworn to live republican or to die. M. Rœderer, who was obstinate in his ideas, insisted on the second question being put. It was adopted, like the preceding. The next point was to decide on the form to be given to both. It was thought that this appeal made to the French people, by means of the registers opened in the communes, was an act which ought to belong to the government, for it was, in some measure, a mere convocation; that it was, therefore, natural that it should be discussed in the Council of State; that the publication of this deliberation, which had taken place in the presence of the second and third Consuls, and in the absence of the first, saved all *convenances;* that nothing more was now wanting but to put it into proper form. A commission composed of several councillors of State was directed, before the assembly separated, to draw up the result of the deliberation. This commission fell to work immediately, and returned in an hour with the act destined for publication on the following day.

That act was as follows:—

"The Consuls of the Republic, considering that the resolution of the First Consul is a striking homage paid to the sovereignty of the people; *that the people, consulted on its dearest interests, ought to know no other limit than its interests themselves*, decree as follows, &c. The French people shall be consulted on these two questions,—

"1. SHALL NAPOLEON BONAPARTE BE CONSUL FOR LIFE?

"2. SHALL HE HAVE THE FACULTY OF APPOINTING HIS SUCCESSOR?

"Registers shall be opened for this purpose at all the *mairies*, at the offices of the clerks of all the tribunals, at the houses of the notaries, and those of all public officers."

The period allowed for giving votes was three weeks.

M. Cambacérès then repaired to the First Consul, to submit to him the resolution of the Council of State. The First Consul, from a disposition of mind difficult to be accounted for, obstinately rejected the second question. "Whom," said he "would you have me appoint my successor? My brothers? But will France, which has consented to be governed by me, consent to be governed by Joseph or Lucien? Shall I nominate you, Consul Cambacérès, you? Durst you undertake such a task? And then, the will of Louis XIV. was not respected; is it likely that mine would be? A dead man, let him be who he will, is nobody." On this point the First Consul was not to be overcome. He was even angry with M. Rœderer, who, without consulting any one, following only the impulse of his own mind, had put forward this idea. He therefore ordered the second question relative to the choice of a successor to be erased from the resolution of the Council of State. The motive of the First Consul on this occasion is very obscure. Was it his intention, in leaving a chasm in the organisation of the government, to reserve to himself a fresh pretext for again asserting, at a somewhat later period, that the government was without future, without greatness, and that it was necessary to convert it into an hereditary monarchy? or did he dread family rivalries and the tribulations that would be brought upon him by the faculty of choosing a successor from among his brothers and his nephews? Judging from his language at this period, the latter conjecture appears to be nearest the truth. Be this as it may, he retrenched the second question of the act emanating from the Council of State, and, to avoid the loss of time which must have arisen from a new convocation, the deliberation, thus mutilated, was sent to the official journal.

It appeared on the morning of the 11th (21st Floréal), two days after that of the Senate. To announce that such a question had been put to France was to announce that it was resolved upon. If public opinion, which had become passive, did not take the initiative of great resolutions, it might, never-

theless, be relied upon that it would cordially sanction whatever might be proposed to it in favour of the First Consul. It felt from him confidence, admiration, gratitude, all the sentiments which a susceptible and enthusiastic people is capable of feeling for a great man, from whom it has received so many benefits at once. Assuredly, if questions of form had retained any importance at a time in which constitutions had been seen made and re-made so often, it would have been thought singular that, after the Senate had proposed a mere prolongation for ten years, that proposition, emanating from the only authority which had power to make it, should be converted into a proposition of consulship for life, made by a body, which was neither the Senate, nor the Legislative Body, nor the Tribunate, which was but a council dependent on the government. It is true that the Council of State had then a high importance, which rendered it nearly the equal of the legislative assemblies: that the appeal to the national sovereignty was a corrective, which covered all the irregularities of that mode of proceeding, and gave to the Council of State the apparent part of a mere digester of the question to be submitted to France. Besides, at that time, people did not look so closely into things. The result, that is, the consolidation and the perpetuation of the government of the First Consul, was universally agreeable, and the most direct way possible to that result appeared the most natural and the best. The Senate was exposed to some raillery; in fact, it was rather ashamed of not having better understood the wishes of general Bonaparte, and it kept silence, having nothing to the purpose either to say or to do; for it could neither recall its determination nor appropriate to itself that of the Council of State. As for resisting, it had not the means, and never conceived such an idea. Of course, the torrent was not so general but that censure was to be heard in certain places, for instance, in the obscure retreats in which the stanch republicans hid their despair; in the brilliant hotels of the Faubourg St. Germain, where the royalists detested this new power, which they had not yet begun to serve. But this censure, scarcely distinguishable amidst the chorus of praise which was raised everywhere around the First Consul, and ascended to his ear, was of little effect. Only, considerate men, and these are always few in number, could make singular reflections on the vicissitudes of revolutions, on the inconsistency of this generation, overthrowing a royalty of twelve centuries, striving even in its delirium to overthrow all the monarchies in Europe, and now, having got over its worst paroxysms, rebuilding, piece by piece, a demolished throne, and eagerly seeking one to whom to give it. Luckily, it had found for this purpose an extraordinary man. It is not always that nations, in such an emergency, meet with a master who ennobles their inconsistencies to such a degree. The embarrassment of modesty, however, had for a moment

seized all minds, that master himself not daring at first to avow his desires, the Senate next not daring to guess and hesitating to gratify them, till the Council of State, throwing off all that false shame, had the courage, for all, to avow what it was necessary to say and to do.

These momentary difficulties soon gave place to a real ovation. The Legislative Body and the Tribunate resolved to go to the First Consul's, to give the signal for adhesions, by proceeding in a body to vote in his hands for the perpetuity of his power. The motive devised for colouring this step was that the members of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunate, being detained during this extraordinary session in their places as legislators, could not be in their communes to vote there. The reason was deemed good, and they repaired in a body to the Tuileries. M. de Vaublanc spoke in behalf of the Legislative Body, and M. Chabot de l'Allier in the name of the Tribunate. It would be tedious to introduce the speeches delivered on that occasion. They invariably expressed the same gratitude and the same confidence in the government of the First Consul. Such an example could not have failed to induce the citizens to vote, if they had needed it; but so high an impulsion was not necessary. They went most cheerfully to the *mairies*, to the notaries, to the offices of the clerks of the tribunals, to inscribe their approving votes in the registers opened to receive them.

The end of Floréal had arrived. The government hastened to close this short and memorable session by the presentation of the financial laws. The proposed budget was most satisfactory. All the revenues had increased, thanks to the peace, while the expenses of the army and navy were considerably diminished. This budget of the year X. amounted to 500,000,000 frs., 26,000,000 frs. less than that of the year IX.;* it was raised to 526,000,000 frs. by the most recent estimates, and if there were added the additional centimes for the service of the departments, which were at that time reckoned separately and amounted to about 60,000,000 frs.; if there were added the expenses of collection, which were not carried to the general budget, because each department of the taxes paid its own expenses, which amounted to 70,000,000 frs., the total might be estimated at 625,000,000 frs. or 630,000,000 frs. the definitive budget of France at this period.

Peace brought with it a saving in certain services, augmentations in some others, but, by manifestly increasing the produce of all the taxes, paved the way to the re-establishment of the balance between the expenditure and the revenue, a balance so desired and so far from being foreseen two years before. The war department, divided into two ministries, that of the *materiel*

* The amount for the year IX. was at first fixed at 415,000,000 frs., then at 526,000,000 frs., and finally at 545,000,000 frs.

and that of the *personnel*, was to cost 210,000,000 frs. instead of 250,000,000 frs. It will, no doubt, appear astonishing that there should be a difference of only 40,000,000 frs. between a state of war and a state of peace; but it should be recollected that our victorious armies had lived upon a foreign soil, and that, having returned to our own territory, with the exception of about 100,000 men, they were now subsisted by the French treasury. The navy, which at first it had been thought right to fix at 80,000,000 frs. since the conclusion of hostilities, had been raised to 105,000,000 frs. by the First Consul, who was of opinion that a time of peace ought to be employed in organising the marine of a great State. Other expenses, materially reduced, proved by their reduction the prosperous progress of credit. The obligations of the receivers-general, the origin, utility, and success of which have been explained elsewhere, had at first been discounted at only one per cent. per month, and afterwards at three quarters. They were now discounted at one-half per cent. per month, that is at six per cent. per annum. Hence the government had been enabled to reduce, without injustice, the interest of the securities from seven to six per cent. All these savings had reduced the costs of negotiation of the Treasury from 32,000,000 frs. to 15,000,000 frs. No reduction did so much honour to the government, or afforded stronger proof of the credit which it enjoyed. The five per cent. *rente*, which had at first risen from twelve to forty and fifty francs, was at the moment at sixty.

Along with these diminutions of expense there occurred some augmentations, which were the consequence of the wise financial arrangements proposed in the year IX., and so unjustly censured by the Tribunate. Government had proposed, as we have said in the proper place, to complete the inscription of the *consolidated* third, that is the third of the old debt, the only one excepted from the bankruptcy of the Directory. As for the *mobilised* two-thirds, that is to say the unliquidated portion of that debt, it had designed to give them a sort of value by taking them in payment for certain national domains, or by permitting their conversion into five per cent. *consolidated*, at the rate of one-twentieth of the capital, which corresponded with the actual currency. The First Consul, desirous of completing these arrangements as soon as possible, caused it to be decided, by the law of finance of the year X., that the *mobilised* two-thirds should be compulsorily converted into five per cent. *rentes*, at the rate fixed in the law of Ventôse, year IX. The definitive inscription of the *consolidated* third, the conversion of the *mobilised* two-thirds into five per cent., other liquidations yet left to be made for the ancient credits of the emigrants, and for the transfer of the debts of the conquered countries to the Great Book, would make the total of the public debt amount to 59,000,000 or 60,000,000 of five per cent. annuities. Mean-

while, it was of importance to satisfy people's minds respecting the sum to which these various liquidations were likely to raise the public debt. It was therefore decided, by an article of this same budget of the year X., that it should not be raised, either by loan, or in consequence of the liquidations remaining to be completed, to more than 50,000,000 of annuities. It was hoped that the redemptions of the Sinking Fund, largely endowed with national domains, would absorb this foreseen excess of 9,000,000 or 10,000,000 before it had time to be produced. But, at any rate, an article of the budget added that, as soon as the inscriptions should exceed 50,000,000 frs., a redeeming portion should be immediately created for absorbing in fifteen years the sum exceeding the amount henceforward fixed for the national debt.

The title of that debt was also to be regulated. The various denominations of *consolidated third*, *mobilised two-thirds*, *Belgian debt*, and others, were abolished, and in their stead was adopted the single title of five per cent. consolidated. It was settled that the debt should be the first thing inscribed in the budget; that the interest of it should be paid before any other expense, and always in the month following the expiration of each half-year. It was estimated that the life debt, amounting at the moment to 20,000,000 frs., might rise to 24,000,000 frs.; but it was supposed that, the extinctions proceeding as rapidly as the new liquidations, it would always be kept down to the sum of 20,000,000 frs. The civil pensions also were fixed at the amount of 20,000,000 frs. The expenses likely to be further increased were those of the interior for roads and public works, those of the clergy for the successive establishment of new incumbents—expenses rather welcome than to be regretted. As for those of public instruction and the Legion of Honour, they were provided for, as we have already seen, by an endowment in national domains.

In regard to these increasing expenses, the progress of the revenue afforded a prospect of a still more rapidly increasing income. The customs, the post, the registration, the domains of the State, furnished considerable surpluses. Besides, there was yet left the resource of the indirect taxes, which had been re-established till this moment solely for the profit of the towns and for the service of the hospitals. Grievous complaints had this year been made in the Legislative Body and the Tribunate of the burden of the direct contributions, and had suggested new arguments for the re-establishment of the taxes on articles of consumption. Very accurate calculations had shown in a stronger light than ever the excessive proportions of the direct contributions. The tax on immoveable property amounted to 210,000,000 frs., the tax on personal and moveable property to 32,000,000 frs., the tax on doors and windows to 16,000,000 frs., on patents to 21,000,000 frs.; total, 279,000,000 frs., consequently more than

half in a budget of receipts of 502,000,000 frs. People compared these sums with those which had been paid during the administration of Messrs. Turgot and Necker, and demanded the re-establishment of a more just proportion between the different contributions. Before 1789, in fact, the tax on immovable and personal property produced 221,000,000 frs., the indirect taxes 294,000,000 frs.; total, 515,000,000 frs. The natural conclusion from these complaints was the re-establishment of the old duties levied on liquors, tobacco, salt, &c. The First Consul was pleased to hear these remonstrances; they furnished him with a powerful reason for a financial creation, long resolved upon in his mind, but not yet mature enough to be proposed.

The state of our finances then was excellent, and it was becoming better regulated every day. The 90,000,000 frs. assigned, by means of a creation of *rentes* for clearing off arrears of V., VI., and VII., anterior to the Consulate, were found to be sufficient; the 21,000,000 frs. devoted to the liquidation of the year VIII., the first year of the Consulate, likewise sufficed for discharging all outstanding demands upon it. Lastly, the expenditure of the year IX., the first that had been regularly fixed, though amounting to 526,000,000 frs., instead of 415,000,000 frs., was totally liquidated by means of the extraordinary increase of the revenue. We have already observed that the estimates of the current expenditure and income, those of the year X., exactly balanced.

To sum up—a debt in perpetual *rentes* of 50,000,000 frs., perfectly regulated, reduced to one denomination, provided for by a sufficent endowment in national domains; a debt in life annuities of 20,000,000 frs., in civil pensions to the amount of 20,000,000 frs.; 210,000,000 frs. assigned to the war department, 105,000,000 frs. to the navy, composed, with other less considerable expenses, a budget of 500,000,000 frs., exclusive of the additional centimes and cost of collection, and of 625,000,000 frs. including those centimes and costs: a budget covered by the revenue, which was manifestly increasing, without taking into account the re-establishment of the indirect contributions left as a resource for new necessities that might afterwards arise. Thus, after ten years of war and of splendid conquests, the estimates reverted to 500,000,000 frs., the budget of 1789, with this difference, that the debt formed a small portion in comparison with the revenue, and that this amount of 500,000,000 frs. raised to 625,000,000 frs. by the additional centimes and the costs of collection, represented all the charges of the country; whereas the 500,000,000 frs. of the budget of Louis XVI. omitted not only the costs of collection, but the revenues of the clergy, the feudal dues, the *corvées*, that is to say charges to the amount of several hundred millions. If, in 1802, France paid

625,000,000 frs. equally assessed, in 1789, it paid 1,100,000,000 frs. or 1,200,000,000 frs. unequally assessed, with a territory smaller by one-fourth. The Revolution had therefore produced, at least in a material point of view, something besides calamities, to say nothing of the benefit of a complete social reform. In all this financial prosperity there was but one subject for regret; this was the bankruptcy resulting from the paper-money, but in no way imputable to the consular government.

These propositions were not now received, as those of the year IX. had been, by a violent opposition. They satisfied the two legislative assemblies, and were voted with mere observations on the direct and indirect contributions—observations which the government would have dictated itself, if they had not been made spontaneously.

This was the last act of that session of forty-five days devoted to such important objects.

The Tribunate and the Legislative Body broke up on the 20th of May (30th Floréal) leaving France in a state in which she had never yet been, and perhaps never will be again.

At this moment the population was thronging to the *mairies*, to the offices of the clerks of the tribunals, to the notaries, to give an affirmative answer to the question put by the Council of State. The number of the votes that were or were about to be given, was estimated at between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000. This is apparently a small proportion out of a population of 36,000,000 souls, but it is a large one, larger than is expected, and such as is not obtained, in the greater part of the known constitutions, in which three, four, five hundred thousand votes, at most, express the national will. In fact, out of 36,000,000 individuals, half must be deducted as belonging to a sex which has no political rights. Among the remaining 18,000,000, there are aged men and children, who reduce the male and valid population of a country to 12,000,000 at most. It is, therefore, an extraordinary number, if we consider the men labouring with their hands, most of them illiterate, scarcely knowing under what government they live; it is an extraordinary number, 4,000,000 out of 12,000,000, brought to form an opinion, and, above all, to express it.

There were, it is true, some republican and royalist dissentients, who came to give their negative vote, and who, by their presence, attested the liberty left to every body. But it was an imperceptible minority. For the rest, whether voting affirmatively or negatively, they were perfectly calm, and produced by their concurrence a movement that was scarcely perceptible, so quiet and content was the whole population.

Around the government, however, there was a sort of fermentation, on account of the changes which could not but be made in the Constitution, in consequence of the prolongation

of the consulship for life. On this occasion, a thousand different reports, originating in the wishes of each party, were circulated.

The brothers of general Bonaparte, Lucien in particular, had not entirely renounced the hereditary monarchy, which would at once give them the rank of princes, and place them on a level with the other great functionaries of the State. Of all the persons who took it upon themselves to give an opinion, M. Rœderer was the warmest advocate of monarchical sentiments, much more, however, from natural inclination than from any interested suggestion. He was councillor of State, charged with the public instruction, under the orders of Chaptal, minister of the interior, and he availed himself of this position to transmit to the prefects circulars which, totally foreign to the nature of his office, had a direct relation to the questions which then engaged the government and the public. These circulars, in which certain questions were addressed to the prefects, and the answers indicated, and indicated in an absolutely monarchical spirit, these circulars, not emanating from the minister himself, but yet proceeding from a very high authority, seemed to reveal some secret plan, perhaps originating in a very lofty source. They agitated the minds of the people of the provinces, and gave rise to a thousand rumours.

M. Rœderer, and those who coincided in his ideas, would fain have drawn from the departments a sort of spontaneous wish, that should authorise more boldness than had recently been shown. They did not fail to address to the First Consul urgent solicitations to settle in a bolder manner the questions that were raised. But the First Consul was decided. He thought, with all the discreet friends of the government, that it was sufficient, at least for this time, to establish the consulship for life; that it was monarchy itself, especially if the faculty of designating his successor were added to it. A sufficiently expressive movement of opinion among the men surrounding the supreme power, and among even the most devoted, had warned the First Consul that no more ought to be attempted. He had resolved, therefore, to pause, and he characterised as indiscreet all that was done and said by the injudicious friends about him, whose zeal was far from displeasing him, but was not shared generally enough to be approved.

He fell to work himself to make some changes in the Constitution, which seemed to him indispensable. Though disposed to find fault with the work of M. Sieyès, he was for retaining the ground-work of it, and merely adding to it certain new conveniences for the government.

In some men a strange disposition of mind was produced. They insisted on the re-establishment of monarchy, since the force of circumstances required it, but that in return there should be granted to France liberties which, in monarchy, are

compatible with royalty—that is to say, that there should be given to it purely and simply the English monarchy, with an hereditary royalty and two independent Chambers. On this subject, M. Camille Jordan had published a work, much noticed by the small number of persons who still intermeddled with political questions; for the mass had no other opinion but to let the First Consul do what he pleased. Hence this idea of representative monarchy, which, at the very outset of the Revolution, had presented itself to Messrs. Lally Tollendal and Mounier, as the form necessary for our government, and which, fifty years later, was destined to become the last form, this idea once more appeared to some minds like one of those lofty and distant mountains, which in a long route are seen more than once before they are reached.

The sincere royalists, who wished for monarchy, even without the Bourbons, if the Bourbons were found impracticable, and with general Bonaparte, if it were not practicable unless with him, were strongly of this opinion; so were, also, those of the Royalist party, but the latter from different motives. They hoped that, with the elections and a free press, every thing would soon be thrown into confusion, as had been the case under the Directory, and that from this renewal of chaos would at length emerge the legitimate monarchy of the Bourbons, as the necessary term of the calamities of France.

The First Consul had no notion of adopting such a scheme, even though that scheme were to bring with it royalty for himself. It was not merely out of aversion for the resistances that would have opposed such a form of government; it was from sincere conviction of the impossibility of such an establishment in the actual state of things.

Those who are determined to consider him in no other character than a warrior, at most as an administrator, but not as a statesman, imagine that he had no idea of the English Constitution. In his frequent conversations on matters of government, he reasoned with extraordinary sagacity. In the British Constitution there was one thing that displeased him much, and he expressed his sentiments upon it in that energetic language which was peculiar to him: it was to see important affairs of State, such as require, in order to succeed, long meditation, a great consequence in the views, profound secresy in the execution, given up to publicity, and to the hazards of intrigue or of eloquence.

"Let Messrs. Fox, Pitt, or Addington," said he, "be more clever one than the other in the management of parliamentary intrigue, or more eloquent in one sitting of Parliament, and we shall have war instead of peace; the world will be on fire again; France will destroy England, or be destroyed by her. Give up," he exclaimed, with indignation, "give up the fate of the world to such influences!"—That great mind, exclusively occupied with the conditions of the due execution of the affairs of State,

forgot that, if we will not submit those affairs to parliamentary influences, which, after all, are only the national influences, represented, it is true, by passionate and fallible men, as they all are, they fall under mischievous influences of another kind, under those of a Madame de Maintenon in a devout age, of Madame de Pompadour in a dissolute age; and, even if we have the very transient good fortune to possess a great man, like Frederic or Napoleon, under the influence of ambition, which drains the chance of battles to the very dregs.

The First Consul insisted that such a Constitution required, in the first place, a strong dose of hereditary right, that a king and hereditary peers were necessary, that in France public opinion ran counter to this system, that the people were ready to accept him, general Bonaparte, as a dictator, but that they would not accept him as an hereditary monarch (which was certainly true at this moment), that the same sentiments prevailed with regard to the Senate, which no party in the country would consent to make hereditary, although it would grant it extraordinary constitutive power; that the want of stability was felt to such a degree by the nation, that it would readily consent to grant every branch of authority, the most extensive powers, but that these must be for life only; that such was the prevailing opinion amongst reflecting men, that they had not at command all the elements of English royalty, as there existed neither king nor peers; that the senators for life of M. Sieyès, aristocrats of yesterday, most of them without fortune, living upon public salaries, would become ridiculous if it were attempted to transform them into lords as in England; that if, in the absence of these latter, they wished to take the great landed proprietors, they would bring down upon them their most formidable enemies, for at the bottom of their hearts, these were all royalists, more friendly to the English and to the Austrians than to the French; that there was not wherewith to create a second upper Chamber; that by taking the best speakers of the Tribunate and the silent members of the Legislative Body, there would certainly be, strictly considered, materials for making a lower Chamber, but that to make this branch effective, in imitation of England, a free tribune, a free press, and free elections were necessary, and all these would inevitably revive the scenes of the four years of the Directory, of which he had been a witness, and which would never be effaced from his memory; that, at that period, a majority was created in the electoral colleges, which, under pretext of dispersing the men sullied with blood, would only elect men more or less avowed royalists; that, at the same period, there were a hundred journals breathing a spirit of rabid royalism, all with the same tendency, and that but for the 18th Fructidor, but for the strength imparted to the Directory by the army of Italy, they would have contributed to the triumph of this disguised counter-revolution; that soon afterwards, by an inevitable reaction, these royalist elections

were succeeded by terrorist elections, which had alarmed all honest men, who demanded that they should be annulled; that, if the door were again opened to these demagogues, one convulsion would succeed another, till the Bourbons and the foreigner triumphed; that a stop must be put to all this, that the torrent must be arrested, and the Revolution brought to an end, by maintaining in power the men who had accomplished it, and by consolidating its just and necessary principles on the firm foundation of the laws.

On this occasion, the First Consul repeated his favourite theme, which consisted in saying that, in order to maintain the Revolution, it was indispensably requisite first to protect its authors, by keeping them at the head of affairs; and that without him they would all have been by this time removed from the scene by the ingratitude of the present generation. "Ask yourselves what has become of Rewbell, Barras, Larévellière! where are they? who thinks of them? no one has been saved but those whom I have taken by the hand, placed in power, supported in spite of the movement which carries us away. Look at M. Fouché, what trouble I had to defend him; M. de Talleyrand inveighs against M. Fouché; but the Malouets, the Talons, the Calonnes, who tendered me their plans, and their assistance, would have soon got rid of M. de Talleyrand, if I had chosen to lend myself to it. They tolerate military men because they fear them, and because it is not easy to step into the place of a Lannes and a Masséna at the head of an army. But if they tolerate them at present, will they continue to do so long? I myself, do I not know what they would do with me. Have they not proposed to me to appoint me Grand Constable to Louis XVIII? Doubtless the spirit of the Revolution is immortal, and would survive the present generation. The Revolution will finally triumph, but will it be by the hands of the society of the Manége!—no! there would be perpetually reactions, revulsions, which would end finally in counter-revolution!

"At present," added the First Consul, "a government must first be formed with the men of the Revolution; with men who have had experience, who have performed services, who have no blood upon their hands, unless it be the blood of the Russians and the Austrians; then we must add to these a small number of men newly raised, duly qualified for employment, or men of the old times, taken from Versailles, if you will, provided that they are also men of capacity, and that they take office as submissive adherents, and not as disdainful protectors. The Constitution of M. Sieyès is well adapted, with some modifications, for the attainment of this end. We must, above all, consecrate the great principle of the French Revolution, which is civil liberty, that is to say, equal justice in every branch, in legislation, in the tribunals, in the administration, the taxes, military service, and distribution of offices, &c. At present each depart-

ment is equal to any other department; all Frenchmen are equal alike; every citizen obeys the same law, appears before the same judge, suffers the same punishment, receives the same reward, pays the same taxes, is subject to the same military service, is eligible to and attains the same rank, whatever may be his birth, his religion, or his place of origin. These are the great social results of the Revolution, which are well worth the troubles we have suffered in achieving them, and which we must unalterably maintain. After these results, there is still one thing more, which must be maintained with equal vigour, and that is the greatness of France. The efforts of the press, the speeches from the tribune, no longer side with us, but in other times, they may both be turned in our favour. At present, we stand in need of repose, of order, of prosperity, of well-managed affairs, and the preservation of our external greatness. For the maintenance of this greatness the struggle is not over, it will be renewed; and, to maintain our rank amongst nations, vast strength and perfect unity in the government will be wanting!"

Such was the substance of the successive conversations which the First Consul held with those whom he had permitted to give him their ideas, and with whom he meditated a remodelling of the Consular Constitution.

We can easily recognise in these arguments his habitual mode of thinking. Without shutting his understanding to the future, yet only troubling himself about the present, he saw that the present welfare of France depended upon the union of all parties, upon the maintenance and perfection of social reform accomplished by the Revolution; and, finally, upon the development of the power acquired by our arms. With regard to unrestrained liberty, he rejected it as involving an inevitable recurrence to all our troubles, as an obstacle to all his schemes of improvements, and it left on his mind the impression of a difficult, obscure problem, the solution of which did not concern him, as twelve years' agitation had for a long time to come deprived the nation of any want or wish to renew it. M. Sieyès, with his aristocratic Constitution, borrowed from the republics of the middle ages when on their decline, with his Senate invested with the electoral power, with its list of notables, a sort of unalterable golden book, had hit upon the Constitution best adapted to the situation.

The First Consul took care not to meddle with the Senate: on the contrary, he was anxious to render it more powerful; but he had in view one primary alteration, which, in appearance, was a concession to the popular influence.

The lists of notables, which contained the 500,000 individuals, from whom the councils of the arrondissements and the departments were chosen, and also the Legislative Bodies, the Tribunate, and the Senate itself, which lists were never altered, except for the purpose of filling up the vacancies caused by

death, and those occasioned by the names of parties being struck out as unworthy to remain on them, such as bankrupts, for example; these lists of notables appeared too delusive, and left the government, as would be said at the present day, with no tie in common with the country. They were, moreover, very difficult to frame, as the citizens took no interest in so insignificant a matter.

The First Consul thought that the increase of authority which was about to be granted to him, with some other modifications strengthening the power of the Constitution, ought to be requited by some popular concession, at any rate in appearance. He resolved, therefore, to establish electoral colleges.

Consequently, several different kinds of colleges were suggested. First, meetings of the district were to be convened, consisting of the inhabitants of the district, of the age and quality of citizens, who were to elect two electoral colleges, one of the arrondissement and another of the department. The college of the arrondissement was to be formed in proportion to the population, and was to consist of one individual out of five hundred. The college of the department was to be formed in the same manner, in the ratio of one to every thousand. But the number of electors were not to exceed six hundred, taken from those highest rated to the public taxes.

The two electoral colleges, of the arrondissement and of the department, were to be elected for life, by the assemblies of the districts, which, having once performed this duty, had nothing more to do than to fill up the vacancies caused by death, bankruptcy, &c.

The government was to appoint the presidents of all these assemblies, whether district assemblies or electoral colleges. It was to have the power of dissolving an electoral college. In that case the district assemblies were to be convened, in order to re-elect the college which had been dissolved.

The district assemblies, and the two electoral colleges of arrondissement and department were to present candidates to the Consuls, for the offices of *Justices de paix*, and the municipal and departmental authorities. The colleges of the arrondissements were to present two candidates for the vacancies in the Tribunate; the colleges of the departments two candidates for the vacancies in the Senate. Each of these two colleges was also to present two candidates for the vacancies in the Legislative Body, which made together four candidates. So that the Tribunate originated from the council of arrondissement; the Senate originated from the council of department; the Legislative Body from both.

The Senate still exercised the right of choosing the members of the Tribunate, of the Legislative Body, and also of the Senate itself, from the candidates presented.

The nature of the change thus made in the Constitution is

obvious. In lieu of the lists of notables, completed or modified from time to time by the whole body of the citizens, electoral colleges for life, appointed by the same entire body, were now to elect the candidates, from which the Senate was to make the selection, as the body which generated all the others. The alteration was not very great, as these electoral colleges for life, sometimes modified, when vacancies occurred through death or bankruptcy, were almost as immutable as the lists of notables, but they occasionally assembled to elect candidates. In this way the citizens recovered some portion of the right of electing the deliberative assemblies. Tumults at elections were, moreover, little to be apprehended by this arrangement.

The Legislative Body and the Tribunate were to be divided into five series, each series going out in rotation every year. The Senate was to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the retiring series, by selecting the new members from among the candidates presented. The colleges for life were afterwards to replace the candidates whom the election of the fifth had absorbed.

After this concession, which at that time appeared so excessive, that the colleagues of the First Consul said broadly, that he must feel very conscious of his own power, very sure of his position, to concede so much to the popular influence; they set about completing the powers of the Senate, in conformity with the inferences which they had deduced from recent events.

The Senate was to retain at first the privilege of electing all the bodies of the State. It was wished, also, to confer upon it a more complete constitutive power. The government had already made it exercise this power, by requiring it to interpret the thirty-eighth Article of the Constitution, by calling upon it to pronounce the repeal of the emigrants, and by demanding of it a prolongation of the authority of the First Consul. It was convenient to have at hand a constitutive power always ready to create whatever might be necessary.

It was accordingly settled, that the Senate, by means of *senatus-consultes*, called *organic*, should have the power of interpreting the Constitution, in order to perfect it, to perform in short, every thing which might be necessary to make it work.

It was arranged, also, that, by means of simple *senatus-consultes*, the Senate could declare the suspension of the Constitution, or the trial by jury, in certain departments, and determine in what cases an individual confined extraordinarily should be sent to trial in the ordinary mode, or kept in prison. Finally, two extraordinary privileges were delegated to this body, one incidental to royalty in a monarchy, the other not possessed by any branch of power in a regular state: the first was the power of dissolving the Legislative Body and the Tribunate; the second was that of annulling the decisions of the tribunals whenever they might be dangerous to the safety of the State.

This last privilege would be unintelligible, if the circumstances of the time did not explain it. Certain tribunals had, in fact, recently pronounced decisions in cases relating to the national domains, which might drive the numerous and powerful class of persons who had become their possessors to despair.

It was next settled, that the Senate, which, in the course of ten years, was to be increased from sixty members to eighty, by means of two nominations annually, should be at once increased to the number of eighty. Thus there were fourteen nominations to be made immediately. The First Consul, in addition to these, had the privilege of appointing directly senators to the number of forty, which raised the total number of that body to 120. By these means, the government was relieved from the danger of new annoyances, such as those which took place at the commencement of the session of the year X.

The Tribunate and the Council of State were equally modified in their respective organisation. Whilst the Council of State might be raised to fifty members, the Tribunate was to be reduced to fifty, by the successive extinction of members, and was to be divided into sections, corresponding with the sections of the Council of State. It was to make a first examination, in sections, with closed doors, of the *projets de lois* (bills), which might be afterwards submitted to them in the general meeting of the whole body. These bills were still to be discussed, by three orators, who were to argue before the silent Legislative Body, in opposition to three councillors of State, or on the same side with them, according as the bill might have been rejected or adopted.

Henceforth, in short, it was to be nothing more than a second Council of State, whose province it would be to canvass with closed doors, and, consequently, without energy, the measures prepared by the first.

Finally, the prerogative of voting treaties was taken from the Legislative Body and the Tribunate. The First Consul recollected what had occurred in respect to the treaty with Russia, and he would not expose himself to a repetition of a similar scene. He projected a Privy Council, consisting of the Consuls, of the ministers, two senators, two councillors of State, two members of the Legion of Honour, having the rank of great officers, each severally summoned by the First Consul, upon every important occasion. This Privy Council was to be consulted upon the ratification of treaties. It was also empowered to digest the organic *senatus-consultes*.

The creation of a Privy Council was an encroachment on the power of the Council of State, and the latter seemed to view it seriously in this light. The First Consul, by the erection of the Privy Council, withdrew from the consideration of the Council of State the treaties, of which, hitherto, it had taken

cognizance, as he began to feel that thirty or forty individuals were too numerous a body for communications of this nature.

The executive power had still to be adjusted upon the new basis of the Consulate for life. The First Consul wished that the power which was tendered to him for life should be also extended, for the same duration, to his colleagues. "You have done so much for me," said he to the Consul Cambacérès, "that I ought now to secure your position." The principle of a continuance for life was, accordingly, fixed, with respect to the three Consuls, both as well for the present as for the time to come. The great question of the nomination of a successor to the First Consul remained still to be determined, by which the right of hereditary succession was, in the present case, to be disposed of. General Bonaparte at first wished to decline the power which it was wished to confer upon him—that of himself naming his successor. He yielded at length, and it was settled that he should have the power of appointing him during his lifetime. In this case, the successor appointed was to be presented to the Senate in great state; he was to take an oath to the Republic, before the Senate, in presence of the Consuls, the ministers, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, the Council of State, the Tribunal of *Cassation*, the archbishops, and bishops, the presidents of the electoral colleges, the grand officers of the Legion of Honour, and the mayors of the twenty-four great cities of the Republic. After this solemnity, he was to be adopted by the living Consul, and by the nation. He was to take rank in the Senate with the Consuls, immediately after the third.

However, if, with a view of sparing the feelings of his family, the First Consul should not nominate a successor during his lifetime, but only resolve to fix upon him in his will, in that case, he was, prior to his death, to deliver this will, duly sealed with his own seal, into the custody of the three Consuls, in presence of the ministers and presidents of the Council of State. This will was to remain deposited in the archives of the Republic. But, in this case, it was necessary for the Senate to ratify the testamentary will, which had not been produced during the lifetime of the testator.

In the event of the First Consul not making his adoption during his lifetime, or of not leaving a will, or of the will not being ratified, then the second and third Consuls were empowered to appoint a successor. They were to propose him to the Senate, whose duty it was to elect him.

Such were the forms employed to guarantee the due transmission of power. It was a principle of adoption in lieu of hereditary succession, but nothing prevented it from being hereditary, as the chief of the State was free to choose his own son,

if he had one. Only, he was empowered to prefer amongst his heirs, the one who appeared most worthy.

The Consuls were *ex officio* members of the Senate; they were to preside at the sittings.

One great prerogative was added to the power of the First Consul. He was invested with the right of granting pardon for offences. This was assimilating his authority, as much as possible, to that of royalty.

On the accession of a First Consul, a law was to fix his allowance, or, to speak more properly, his civil list. On the present occasion a sum of 6,000,000 frs. (250,000*l.* sterling), for the First Consul, and 1,200,000 frs. (50,000*l.* sterling), for his two colleagues, were to be provided for in the budget.

To all these arrangements, some others were added, relating to the regulation of the tribunals. The ministerial duties of the government were better conducted than the administration of justice, because the ministers, guided by an impartial and firm master, holding their offices during pleasure, pursued exactly the course dictated by his directing mind. But the judges used their independence, as all unfettered liberty at that time was used, for the purpose of becoming subservient to the predominating feelings of the time. In some places, they persecuted the parties who had acquired the national domains; in others, they favoured them unjustly. But in no part of the country did they exhibit that regularity of proceeding which has prevailed since, and which confers upon a great body of magistrates, a dignified, but still deferential authority. To the powers just conferred in certain cases upon the Senate, of reviewing the judgments of the tribunals, an extra-judicial authority, and happily not permanent, a further power to regulate the tribunals was annexed. The tribunals of first instance were placed under the regulation of the tribunals of appeal, and the tribunals of appeal under that of the Court of *Cassation*. A judge who failed in the discharge of his duties, might be summoned before the superior tribunal, reprimanded or suspended. At the head of the whole magistracy, a GRAND JUDGE was to be placed, with power to preside at the tribunals if he chose, whose duty it was to watch over them, and to manage them. He was thus minister of justice, as well as a public magistrate.

Such were the modifications introduced into the Consular Constitution, some of them conceived by the First Consul, others proposed by his advisers. They were all collected in the form of an organic *senatus-consulte*, which was to be presented to the Senate and adopted by that body.

They consisted, as we have just seen, in getting rid of the list of notables, an extensive, inert, and illusory constituency, and in substituting in lieu electoral colleges for life, which

were to assemble occasionally for the purpose of presenting candidates for the choice of the Senate; they conferred upon the Senate, already invested with the electoral functions and with the duty of watching over the Constitution, the power of modifying that Constitution, of perfecting it, of removing every obstacle in the way of its practical working, the power, in short, of dissolving the Tribunate and the Legislative Body; they conferred upon general Bonaparte the Consulate for life, with power to appoint his successor; and, moreover, they bestowed upon him the brightest prerogative of royalty, the power of pardoning offences. By these alterations, the Tribunate was deprived of the power of number, and almost of that of publicity, by being thus made a second Council of State, empowered to animadvert on the proceedings of the first; furthermore, they transferred from the Legislative Body and the Council of State to a Privy Council certain important affairs of the government, as, for instance, the sanction of treaties; and, finally, they established for the tribunals, a hierarchy and a discipline.

It was still the aristocratic Constitution of M. Sieyès, apt to turn either to aristocracy or to despotism according to the hand which guided it; tending, at this moment, to absolute power in the hand of general Bonaparte, but after his death, it was capable of being transformed into a downright aristocracy, if before his death, he did not hurl the whole structure into an abyss.

By conferring such high powers upon the Senate, for his own convenience, the First Consul had secured, during his life, a devoted instrument, by whose hand he could do whatever he wished: but, after his death, the instrument, become independent, would be all-powerful in its turn. Under a less great, a less glorious successor, with the minds of men awakened after a long repose, an entirely new spectacle would present itself. The departmental aristocracy, which formed the electoral colleges for life, and the national aristocracy of which the Senate was composed, the one presenting candidates to the other, might easily, at some future period, by a community of interest, both natural and even necessary, create in the Legislative Body and the Tribunate a majority, which could not be shaken by the monarchical authority, under the denomination of First Consul, and thus might revive a sort of freedom, an aristocratic freedom, it is true, but one which, compared with other forms of government, is, in general, not behind them in haughtiness, or consistency, or durability. Besides, liberty is always guaranteed when the power is divided, and its exercise is subject to deliberations. There can never, in fact, exist more than two plausible opinions respecting the great interests of a country. If the executive power has opposed to it an authority capable of successfully resisting it, the latter, whe-

ther aristocratic or otherwise, embraces, by an irresistible propensity to contradiction, the opinion which the former has rejected. It tends to peace, when the executive power is inclined to war; it tends to war when the executive power inclines to peace: it adopts a liberal policy, when the monarchical power is inclined to conservative measures. In short, there is contradiction, and hence arise investigation and freedom; as liberty in all countries consists chiefly in the free and unfettered discussion of the affairs of the State. This Constitution, then, of M. Sieyès might, at some future period, restore things to the end for which it was originally designed; but, at the present, it was but a mask for a dictatorship. A Constitution, of whatever kind it may be, produces results conformable to the actual state of public opinion at the period. There are times when opposition is the prevailing tendency, at others there is a general disposition to adhere to the government. At the present time, the nation was inclined to adhere to the government: the form of power was, therefore, at bottom, of secondary consideration.

We must, however, admit, that this nominal republic possessed unusual grandeur; it recalled, in some measure, the idea of the Roman Republic, when converted into the empire. This Senate possessed the power of the Senate of ancient Rome, a power which it surrendered to the Emperor when the latter was strong, resuming it, on the contrary, in order to exercise it, whenever the Emperor was weak, or liberal. The First Consul had, indeed, the power of the Roman emperors; he possessed the hereditary authority, that is to say the choice of appointing his successor, natural or adopted. Let us add that he enjoyed almost the same power over the world.

The new Constitution thus remodelled, was now ready; the votes required from all the citizens were given. The Consul Cambacérès, always conciliating, suggested a very wise course; namely, to confide to the Senate the duty of reckoning up the collected votes, and of proclaiming their numbers. "It is," he said, with truth, "a very natural mode of extricating this great body from a false situation, occasioned by a mistake." The Senate had, in fact, proposed a prolongation of ten years, and the First Consul had assumed the Consulship for life. Since then, the Senate had become silent, and had neither taken nor could take any step. To concede to that body the task of proclaiming the result, would be making it a party, and extricate it from the state of embarrassment in which it was placed. "Come," said M. Cambacérès to the First Consul, "come to the assistance of men, who have made a mistake, in trying to guess your wishes." The First Consul smiled, with an unusually sarcastic expression, at his prudent colleague, and consented with alacrity to the judicious

proposal made to him. The registers in which the votes had been entered were sent to the Senate to be reckoned up. A total of 3,577,259 citizens had given their suffrages, and out of this number 3,568,885 had voted for the Consulate for life. Amongst this enormous mass of approving votes, there were only 8000 and some hundred dissidents: it was an insignificant minority. No government ever obtained such an assent, and none ever merited it in the same degree.

This result being verified, the Senate issued a *senatus-consulte* in three articles. The first of those articles was couched in these terms: The *French people* APPOINTS, and the *Senate* PROCLAIMS, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, First Consul for life.

It was from this epoch that the prenomen of NAPOLEON began to appear in the public acts, together with the family name of Bonaparte, which only, up to that time, was known to the world. This illustrious prenomen, which the voice of nations has so many times since repeated, had hitherto been employed but once, namely, in the constituent act of the Italian Republic. In approximating to the sovereign power, the prenomen, being gradually separated from the family name, was destined soon to stand alone conspicuously in the language of the world, and general Bonaparte, at one short moment called Napoleon Bonaparte, was soon to be styled Napoleon only, in conformity with the manner adopted in designating monarchs.

The second article of the *senatus-consulte* declared, that a statue of Peace, holding a laurel in one hand, and in the other the decree of the Senate, should perpetuate the gratitude of the nation to posterity.

Finally, the third article declared, that the Senate, in a body, should proceed to the First Consul, with this *senatus-consulte*, the expression of the CONFIDENCE, LOVE, and ADMIRATION of the French people. These three expressions are used in the decree itself.

A day was fixed for a grand diplomatic reception, when the Senate should proceed to the Tuileries. It was on the morning of the 3rd of August, 1802 (15th Thermidor). All the ministers from the different courts of Europe, now at peace, were assembled in a spacious saloon, where the First Consul was in the habit of receiving them, and where foreigners of distinction were presented. The levee was scarcely commenced when the Senate was announced. All the members of this body were assembled, and were instantly admitted. The president Barthélemy delivered the following speech:

"The French people," said he, addressing the First Consul, "the French people, grateful for the immense services which you have rendered them, are desirous that the first magistracy of the State should remain permanently in your hands. By

thus rendering it secure during your whole life, it only expresses the wishes of the Senate, as set forth in the *senatus-consulte* of the 18th Floréal. The nation, by this solemn act of gratitude, confers upon you the privilege of consolidating our institutions."

After this exordium, the President briefly enumerated the great deeds of general Bonaparte in war and in peace, predicted prosperity for the future, exempt from the calamities which at that time no one foresaw, and reiterated to him, in short, all that Fame, with her thousand tongues, proclaimed throughout the world. The President then read the decree. The First Consul, bowing to the Senate, replied in these noble words:

"The life of a citizen belongs to his country. The French nation wishes that mine should be wholly consecrated to it. I obey its will.

"Through my efforts, by your assistance, Citizens Senators, by the assistance of all the authorities, by the confidence, and by the will of this mighty people, the liberty, equality, and prosperity of France will be rendered secure against the caprices of fate and the uncertainty of futurity. The most virtuous of nations will be the most happy, as they most deserve to be; and their felicity will contribute to the general happiness of all Europe.

"Proud, then, of being thus called by the command of that power from which every thing emanates, to bring back order, justice, equality, to the earth, when my last hour approaches, I shall yield myself up, with resignation, and without any solicitude respecting the opinion of future generations."

After receiving the affectionate thanks of the Senate, the First Consul accompanied this body back to the antechamber, and afterwards continued to receive the various foreigners who were presented to him by the ministers of England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Bavaria, Hesse, Wurtemberg, Spain, Naples, America, as, indeed, the whole world was at that moment at peace with France. On the same day, lord Holland and lord Grey (the same known to the present generation), were presented to the First Consul, with a number of other persons of distinction.

On the following day, the 4th of August, the new articles modifying the Constitution were submitted to the Council of State. The First Consul presided at this solemn sitting; he read the articles one by one, and explained the reasons for each with perspicuity and vigour. He expressed his ideas on each article in the manner which we have already represented. He even started objections, and replied to them. Upon the article relating to the appointment of a successor, there was a short discussion, in which some indication of the resistance which he had offered to this arrangement might be discerned. Messrs. Petiet and

Rœderer maintained that the appointment of a successor, by a testamentary act, ought to be as obligatory as if it were made by a solemn adoption, in presence of the public bodies of the State. The First Consul contended that the testamentary act ought not to be obligatory for the Senate, inasmuch as a man deceased, however illustrious he may have been, ceases to be anything; that his last will might always be cancelled; and that, in submitting it for the ratification of the Senate, he only yielded to an unavoidable necessity. On this occasion, some singular expressions escaped him, when speaking upon hereditary succession, which proved that, for the moment, he had given up all thought of it. He said, in substance, when elucidating the subject, that it was not consonant to the prevailing manners and opinions. He was not addicted by nature to falsehood or hypocrisy; but placed, as men always are, under the influence of the passing moment, he rejected hereditary succession, because he perceived that the minds of the people were but little inclined to adopt it, and that, moreover, invested as he was, with a power altogether monarchical, he was satisfied with the reality without the title. To judge by his words, he had fully made up his mind upon this subject.

Some objections were afterwards offered against the institution of the Privy Council, on behalf of the Council of State, whose power was in some degree diminished by this institution. On this subject the First Consul betrayed some embarrassment towards a body which, up to that moment, he had treated with so marked a predilection, and which he seemed to deprive of some of its importance. He said that the Privy Council was only established for very rare cases, in which the strictest secrecy was requisite, which in a body of forty or fifty persons it was impossible to preserve; that, moreover, the Council of State would always retain the same importance, together with the cognizance of all great affairs.

After some modifications of detail, the *senatus-consulte* was carried up to the Senate, and, after receiving a sort of approbation, was converted into an *organic senatus-consulte*. The following day, 5th of August (17th Thermidor), it was promulgated with the usual formalities, and thus became a supplementary act to the Consular Constitution.

France experienced the most profound satisfaction. The family of the First Consul had neither all their fears nor all their hopes realised; nevertheless, they participated in the general happiness. Madame Bonaparte began to be tranquillised, now that all thoughts of royalty had evaporated. This kind of hereditary succession, which devolved upon the chief of the State the duty of choosing his successor, was all she wished, as she had no child by general Bonaparte, but had one beloved daughter, married to Louis Bonaparte, who was about to become a mother. She wished for, and counted upon having a

grandson. She thought to see in him the heir to the sceptre of the world. Her husband shared in her anticipations. The brothers of Napoleon (we shall call him henceforth by this name) were not so well pleased; at least, Lucien was not, whose perpetual recklessness of mind nothing could tranquillise. But an arrangement had been thought of, with a view of pleasing them, and accordingly it had just been introduced amongst the Organic Articles. The law of the Legion of Honour enacted that the grand council of the Legion should be composed of three consuls, and of a representative of each of the great bodies of the State. The Council of State had appointed Joseph Bonaparte to fill this dignity; the Tribunate had chosen Lucien. One article of the *senatus-consulte* provided, that the members of the grand Council of the Legion of Honour should be *ex officio* senators. The two brothers of Napoleon were accordingly important personages in the noble institution, upon which the duty of distributing rewards devolved, and they were, moreover, as members of the Senate, called upon to exercise a considerable influence over that body. Joseph, moderate in his desires, seemed to wish for nothing beyond. Lucien was only half satisfied; it was not in his nature to be more so. The First Consul, by making his colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun consuls for life, sought thereby to place round his person colleagues who were pleased with his own elevation. He had succeeded. One personage, alone, of the time, came out of this crisis, so favourable to the general advancement of every body else, rather ill-treated—this was M. Fouché, minister of police. Whether it was that his personal advice with regard to the family arrangements of the Bonapartes was seen through, or whether the efforts that were made to prejudice him with his master succeeded, or, which is most probable, that the First Consul was desirous of adding to all his recent acts of clemency and conciliation a measure which should have more than any other the appearance of confidence, and of total oblivion of the past; at any rate, the minister of police was left out.

This minister, as we have already said elsewhere, possessed an importance which he never would have had, under a regular régime, thanks to the arbitrary power with which he was invested, thanks to the funds which he disposed of without any control. Emigrants, either returned, or about to return, Vendéans, Republicans, nonjuring priests, all these troublesome agents were under his surveillance, and he performed his duty without any compunction.

Although M. Fouché executed the duties of this ministry with judgment and a good deal of lenity, it had become odious to the parties whom it kept under restraint. The First Consul suppressed it, and made the police a mere general direction, attached to the ministry of justice. The councillor of State, Réal, was invested with this directorship. The department of

justice was taken from M. Abrial, an able, prudent man, wholly devoted to its duties, but whose slow and laborious mode of doing business was disagreeable to the First Consul. It was bestowed upon M. Regnier, since duke of Massa, a learned, eloquent magistrate, who had inspired the chief who disposed of the fortunes of all around, with confidence, and a liking for him. M. Regnier received, with the administration of justice, the title of grand-judge, a title recently created by the organic *senatus-consulte*. His peculiar qualifications rendered him a very fit person to guide M. Réal in the difficult investigations of the police; and, on the other hand, M. Réal, transacting business direct with the First Consul, became himself almost independent of the minister of justice. Unfortunately, the loss of M. Fouché carried with it his great personal knowledge of men, and connexions with parties, which no one possessed in the same degree. This sacrifice, made too hastily to the opinions of the day, had not been sufficiently well considered; and it produced, as we shall soon see, consequences much to be deplored. Nevertheless, it was not politic to make M. Fouché appear disgraced. A place was accordingly reserved for him in the Senate, and another for M. Abrial. The act by which M. Fouché was raised to the dignity of a senator, contained a flattering recital of his public services. It was even declared in this act, that, if the urgency of the times should require the restoration of the office now suppressed, M. Fouché would be sought after on the benches of the Senate, again to be created minister of police. Some other official changes took place in the ministry: M. Rœderer, who did not coincide altogether with M. Chaptal in his views respecting the duties of the department of public instruction, which was under his care, relinquished this appointment in favour of the learned Foureroy, and was compensated, like Messrs. Fouché and Abrial, by a seat in the Senate. The First Consul also raised to the Senate the respectable archbishop of Paris, M. de Belloy. By acting in this mode, he had no intention of giving the clergy an influence in political affairs; but he wished all the social interests to be represented in the Senate, and religion amongst the rest.

The 15th of August (27th Thermidor) was celebrated, for the first time, as the anniversary of the birthday of the First Consul. This marked the progressive introduction of monarchical usages, by which the natal day of the sovereign is an established festival, observed by the whole nation. On the morning of that day, the First Consul received the Senate, the Tribunate, the Council of State, the clergy, the civil and military authorities of the capital, the diplomatic body, who waited upon him for the purpose of congratulating him on the public happiness, and on his own private felicity. At noon, a *Te Deum* was sung in the church of Notre Dame, and in all the churches of the Republic. At night, brilliant illuminations

represented, in Paris, here an emblematical figure of Victory; there, another of Peace; and, further on, upon one of the towers of Nôtre Dame, the sign of the zodiac under which the author of all the good the nation enjoyed, was born, and for whose birth the nation thus offered up their gratitude to Heaven.

Four days afterwards, the 21st of August (3rd Fructidor), the First Consul went in state to take possession of the Presidency of the Senate. All the troops of the division lined the way, from the Tuileries to the palace of the Luxembourg. The carriage of the new master of France, escorted by a numerous staff, and by the consular guard on horseback, was drawn by eight magnificent horses, like the carriages of our kings in former times. No one shared with him the honour of occupying it. The second and third Consuls, the ministers, and the presidents of the Council of State, followed in their carriages. Upon the arrival of the *cortège* at the palace of the Luxembourg, the First Consul was received by a deputation of ten senators. Seated upon a chair, similar to a throne, he received the oath from his two brothers, Lucien and Joseph, created senators, *ex officio*, by virtue of their rank, as members of the great council of the Legion of Honour. After this formality, the councillors of State chosen to perform this duty presented five *projets* of *senatus-consultes*, the first relating to the ceremonial to be observed by the great authorities; the second to the renewal by series of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate; the third, to the mode of proceeding in the event of a dissolution of these two assemblies; the fourth, to the designation of the twenty great cities of the Republic; and finally, the fifth, to the union of the Island of Elba with the territory of France.

In order to put the Senate into immediate possession of the influence promised it in great affairs of State, M. de Talleyrand read a report of the highest importance, respecting the arrangements preparing in Germany, under the direction of France, for indemnifying the dispossessed hereditary princes on the left bank of the Rhine, with the ecclesiastical principalities. It was, as will be presently seen in the sequel of this history, the most important event of that period. That affair being brought to a conclusion, the world seemed likely to remain in a state of repose for a long time to come. By publishing in this report the views of France to the Senate, the First Consul promulgated to all Europe his own ideas upon this important subject, or, to speak more correctly, intimated his will upon the subject; as it was well known that he was not a man to recoil from the performance of that which he now publicly announced. The reading of this report being concluded, he withdrew, leaving to the Senate the task of examining the five organic *senatus-consultes* which had just been submitted to them.

Accompanied back by the ten senators, who had received him

00035046

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 June, 2016